











# **STUDENTS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM**

**By**

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“This book is dedicated to the memory of our comrades who are no more with us. Early in life, they vowed allegiance to the Motherland and suffered for her liberation. Let the torch of Truth and Righteousness they tried to hold aloft burn ever brighter and illumine the days to come.”



## **FOREWORD**

Youth and student movements had a significant role in shaping the history of our times. Modern youth has proclaimed its own values and philosophy and youngmen, particularly, students have tried to give concrete shape to their ideals through their own efforts and through their own organisation. This is a characteristic feature of the history of the twentieth century. In India, the students have always been in the forefront of the fight for social and political emancipation. The role of students in the Swadeshi Movement, the Revolutionary Movement and the Non-Co-operation Movement is well known. It was, however, only with the formation of the All Bengal Students Association that the movement reached its mature phase of development. The A.B.S.A. was inaugurated in a students conference presided over by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and many of the leading personalities of our times such as Subhas Chandra Bose, Rabindra Nath Tagore, S. Radhakrishnan, P. C. Ray, C. V. Raman, Madan Mohan Malviya, J. M. Sen Gupta, Dr. B. C. Roy and Basanti Devi were at one time or other associated with the activities of the Association. But the organisation was built and maintained entirely by the efforts of the students themselves. The Association took a leading part in the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930-33 and the history of the A.B.S.A., is truly a record of the organising capacity, the partiotism and self-sacrifice of the students of Bengal. But of equal significance is the fact that the students of those times were fully alive to the necessity for education and development in every sphere of life and made earnest endeavours to give shape to their ideas. I am glad that a short history of the movement has now been compiled. As the writer has pointed out, there may have been mistakes or lapses but there is no doubt of the earnestness of the organisers. I am sure that this account will be read with interest by all students of recent Indian history.

I came in contact with the movement when it was just taking shape and personally came to know some of the pioneers

of the movement. I have therefore particular pleasure to commend this volume to the students and educationists of our times.

*Friggona Per-*

## PREFACE

The proposal to compile a history of the All-Bengal Students Association (1928-34) was first mooted at a social gathering of former members of the Association at Calcutta in 1954. Unfortunately the materials to work upon were insufficient and the work therefore did not proceed any further for a long time. In the meanwhile I was able to procure some more old records, reports and journals published by the A.B.S.A. But it was only a part and even copies of prepared speeches and addresses could not be secured in many instances. I had therefore to depend largely on newspaper reports. With the help of some friends, I obtained copies of all references to the activities of the A.B.S.A. in contemporary newspapers published at Calcutta. These were checked by me. Recently, I have received the manuscript of a very short account in Bengali written in 1940 or 1941 by Late Sailendra Nath Mitra, a member of the Working Committee of the A.B.S.A. for some time and editor of our Bengali journal Bhabi Kal, and the facts have been compared and checked.

I take this opportunity to thank all concerned particularly Shri Ashoke Kumar Sarkar, Shri Ajit Kumar Dutt and Shri Sachindra Bhusan Dutt, for help and advice in the preparation and the publication of this book.

This survey is naturally limited in scope but at the same time we have a chance to render a living account. For all of us were actors in the stirring events of the days. On the other hand a history compiled by some of its main actors would inevitably suffer from some defects. It cannot be entirely free from an element of bias and the actors cannot effectively sit in judgment over their own actions. What we offer is therefore strictly not history but only material for history.

I feel the districts are inadequately represented in this account. This was inevitable as few authentic reports of activities in the districts were available. The account has been rather sketchy at times due to lack of materials.

Time has dealt heavily with us. The circumstances which brought us together are no more. Some of us are now in

different political camps. I have however tried to deal with facts without being influenced by later events. Whether I have succeeded is of course another matter.

Students have been generally in the vanguard of all progressive movements in India and elsewhere in recent times. They have often been mostly content to follow the lead of elders. The activities described here represent the conscious and organised efforts of the students of Bengal to shape the course of events as has often been observed in crucial moments of history. There may have been mistakes or lapses but a deathless idealism prompted many to acts of heroism and sacrifice. The movement was one for all round development and we started with a long-term programme. We were deflected from that course by the call of mass movement for country's freedom. The burning patriotism of youthful students and the yearning to fight for country's freedom can be truly appreciated by those who have experience of it. We offer no apologies for what we did. We could not have acted in any other way.

The impact of the organised student movement on the course of events in the country is yet to be critically assessed. The Government of India's weekly reports to British Parliament during the Civil Disobedience Movement give us a glimpse of the importance attached to these activities of the students of Bengal. Much more may be buried in confidential police reports. I recall the following words of Prof. C. R. Reddy while opening the third All-Bengal students conference on the 6th March 1931. He said "Over three thousand members of your Association, over three thousand youngmen supposed to be on the threshold of life have gone to jail in connection with the movement. It takes my breath away. But at the same time it fills me with the spirit of confidence in the future of Bengal and India." I would observe that nearly thrice this number of our members were arrested in the second movement of 1932-33. Thousands suffered grievous assault and extraordinary privations for the cause and in Calcutta, the brunt of the movement was carried by the students.

The movement of 1930-33 did not certainly attain its immediate objective. Indirectly, however it threw up thousands of trained and devoted workers who played a significant role in the freedom movement of 1942 and onwards.

The approach of the times to social problems was idealistic. Materialistic concepts of European Communism reached the country. A Communist Party functioned in the country ; there were also other groups frankly communistic. The Meerut communist conspiracy case was started in 1929. The communist influence in the Trade Union movement was considerable. The developments in revolutionary Russia greatly impressed youthful minds\* but ideologically Vivekananda and Aurobindo still dominated the minds of youth of Bengal. Great stress therefore was laid on character and traditional virtues. The fully developed individual was the kingpin of all movements for social and political emancipation. This general attitude was typically expressed by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose in many of his speeches and addresses to us. I quote the following from "Forward" of 4th January 1929. "Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose said that when they talked of creating a new nation and bringing into existence a new order of things—what they really meant was to create a new frame of mind, a new mentality and when that could be done, they must think that they had attained success to a great extent. The external was nothing but the reflex of the internal. If the inner man could be transformed, the external would automatically change." At the same time, there was a growing awareness of the class structure of modern society, and of the crying need for social equality and economic justice. The urge that the students must take up a practical programme to end exploitation of one class by another, was widespread.

As I look back and reflect I feel that whatever success the A.B.S.A. achieved, was largely due to the solidarity and cohesion of its leading group of members. This unity was not the result of any authoritarian imposition but the unity of free men—an unity born out of devotion to a common ideal and reflected in real comradeship. We in Bengal have always been plagued by group dissensions in our public life. We have to look this fact squarely in the face. The speech of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on 19/11/1931 at a meeting held at Calcutta under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. has clearly some historical significance.

\* A few of us were considerably influenced by Marxist ideology.  
See Appendix (Speech of Rebati Mohan Burman.)

(Appendix). I humbly commend these facts to the youth of Bengal—the youth of today and tomorrow.

The creative power of youth can alone bring about revolutionary changes in society. This is always true—in the past, now or in future. Even in the darkest hour, the youth of the country carries the torch of idealism and in some moment of sudden revelation, may rekindle faith and hope in the hearts of distracted millions. This great truth is poetically expressed in Sm. Sarojini Naidu's message to us on the occasion of the third All-Bengal Students Conference "I am unhappy not to be with you. I send you my benediction. The central hope of my heart is on the power of youth to recreate the world into a term of imperishable beauty, harmony and freedom". No student of contemporary Indian history can afford to neglect the student and youth movements of the twenties and thirties of our present century.

A. N. Roy.

# **STUDENTS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM**



## THE EARLY PHASE

### BOOK ONE

#### INTRODUCTION

It is the privilege of youth to look ahead and dare. The student community everywhere in modern times has formed the spearhead of all movements for social and political change. The establishment of British power in India led to the introduction of education on Western lines in schools and colleges established for the purpose. There is ample historical evidence to show that Bengal had a prominent middle class distinguished by love of learning from long time past. This middle class was considerably strengthened by economic consequences of early British rule. The permanent settlement not only conferred great benefits to the bigger landlords but at the same time firmly established a class of smaller intermediaries and offered them considerable economic security. In spite of the ruin of the ancient textile industry, the internal peace and security, the improvement in communications, the demand for certain Indian raw products in Western markets, all contributed to a temporary prosperity in agriculture and the benefits were largely appropriated by the middle classes. The growth of foreign trade led to the increasing prosperity and expansion of the trading community and the professions of law and medicine offered great opportunities. The rising middle class readily turned from traditional classical learning to the more objective methods of study of history, sociology and the natural sciences developed in Europe.

The impact was revolutionary and led to all-round vigorous creative activity. The concepts of traditional society were subjected to criticism and there was a spirit of revolt against outworn beliefs and institutions. Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, for a few years a teacher at the Hindu College (1826-31), gathered around him a group of students who forcefully gave expression to this spirit of revolt. Derozio died very early but his intellectual inheritors continued to have a deep impress

on the life and thought of the times. It must be clearly stated that though deeply imbued by Western thought, they were not mere imitators and most of them maintained an attitude of rational discrimination. The movement for religious and social reform initiated only a little earlier by Raja Ram Mohan Roy was of more far-reaching significance and had wider acceptance among the English educated middle class. Ram Mohan Roy realised the inexorable logic of events following the impact of Western science and technology on our traditional society but at the same time was fully conscious of all that was good and noble in Indian life and thought. Truly, he has been acclaimed as the herald of the new age in India.

The students of Bengal formed the main current of this stream of modernism and when the Raja and after him Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar tried to carry out measures for social reform, the students formed the vanguard and many of them suffered social ostracism. For Bengal, the nineteenth century was an era of great intellectual activity and a galaxy of great men of whom any nation could be proud.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Indian National Congress was formed and became the forum for expression of political aspirations of the English educated middle classes. There were at times very vigorous protest movements against the policy of the British Government (the Ilbert Bill agitation, the demonstrations against the arrest and imprisonment of Surendra Nath Banerjee may be cited as examples) in which the students of Calcutta took a leading part. Initially, however, the English educated including the students were dazzled by the achievements of European civilisation. Every institution that was Indian was rejected without discrimination and an imitation of the West often prevailed. They had generally faith in the sense of justice of the new rulers after the administration was taken over directly by the Crown and normally depended on criticism, petitions and

<sup>1</sup> The class structure of the two main religious communities in Bengal was different. The middle classes were predominantly Hindu and the Moslem community in consequence remained mostly outside the stream of modernism. This fact of unequal development of the two major communities largely contributed to the tortuous recent history of Bengal and the Bengalees.

prayers for the fulfilment of their political aspirations. We must not, however, judge the leaders of those times—many of them were great men by all measures—by present day standards or the standards of a generation ago. They and their political policies must be judged in the background of objective conditions of contemporary society.

W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendra Nath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose, all Presidents of sessions of National Congress, commanded All-India respect and influence. Ultimately, the latter two together with many others identified themselves with the direct struggles of the Swadeshi Movement.

It was between the fifties and the seventies of the last century that a group of men of rare insight emerged and tried to restore a healthy balance between the old and the new. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, Debendra Nath Tagore, Rajnarayan Bose and Keshab Chandra Sen—we name only a few—were the pioneers of a movement for the revival of the finer elements of Indian culture and synthesis of East and West. They urged radical reconstruction of Indian life and society on the basis of traditional values enlivened by the rationalism, objectivity and dynamism of Western thought and action. Politically, the movement rejected the path of petitions and prayers. The new motto was self-confidence and self-reliance and a vigorous, renascent India the ideal. The intellectual revolution reached its apogee in the literary works of Bankimchandra and Rabindranath. It was thus in Bengal that the conception of an All-India nationalism and the ideal of complete independence to be achieved by Nation's own efforts were developed years before the Indian National Congress was formed. (Jatiya Andolane Rabindranath, in Bengali, by Prafulla Kumar Sarkar).<sup>2</sup>

In the religious field, the unique personality of Sri Ram Krishna, dominated for some time this intellectual renascence and distilled and expressed the essential elements of Hindu

<sup>2</sup> This new awakening at times found expression in vigorous protest movements against injustice and oppression of the British—official or non-official. We mention, for example, the agitation against the malpractices of the indigo planters in the wake of widespread peasant resistance. Some of the peasant leaders were immortalised by Dinabandhu Mitra in his famous "Nil Darpan".

religious thought and his teachings were elaborated and carried to logical conclusions by Swami Vivekananda. A period of great intellectual activity and quest for truth and harmony ensued. The movement embraced every aspect of life. Great stress was laid on constructive work in the villages and revival of industry and traditional arts and crafts. The leaders of the movement advocated, now explicitly, direct struggle for emancipation from foreign bondage. We name only a few of the bright stars—we apologise we cannot make the list exhaustive—that illumined this age of daring adventure: Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, Aswini Kumar Datta, Bepin Chandra Pal, Sister Nivedita and Aurabindo Ghosh.

In the wake of their activities, the Swadeshi Movement (1905) burst forth like a tidal wave sweeping away all timid calculations. As Aurabindo Ghosh observed "It was Kishoreganj, it was Magura, the obscure villages in East Bengal which first declared the boycott. What brain first planned it, what voice first uttered it, history will never be able to discover. None planned it, but it was in the heart of the Nation and God revealed it." (Bande Mataram Weekly, 1st March, 1908.). The revolutionary movement which had its beginnings with a few small groups some years earlier was enriched and strengthened by this upsurge of patriotic fervour. Very soon the revolutionaries developed a widespread organisation and carried on their activities with increasing boldness and efficiency. The age of petitions and prayers ended in Bengal with the final blow given to it by Lord Curzon—the partition of the province. With the turn of the century, Indian nationalism thus became more conscious and the political aspirations of educated Indians became clear. The students of Bengal moved rapidly towards active struggle for political freedom. The Calcutta Town Hall meeting of August 7, 1905, which adopted a resolution for boycott of British goods and of the vow of 'Swadeshi' marked a new era in the history of the country. The meeting was preceded by large scale student demonstrations around College Square and as it appears it was in course of these demonstrations by the students that "Bande Mataram" was first adopted as the battle cry of Indian Nationalism. ('Bande Mataram and Indian Nationalism' by Haridas and Uma Mukherjee; "Jatiya Andolane Rabindranath" by Prafulla

Kumar Sarkar). The inspiration and charm of this battle cry and the mettle of the new movement was amply demonstrated at Barisal in 1906 on the occasion of the Bengal Provincial Conference under the presidentship of Abdulla Rasul. The Swadeshi movement was largely sustained by the sufferings and sacrifices of the students of Bengal.

We need not recount here in details the history of this heroic age—The Swadeshi movement, the militant fight of the revolutionary parties and the mass movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi in 1921.<sup>3</sup>

It may be noted in passing that the Swadeshi movement of Bengal with its emphasis on boycott of British goods and passive resistance to governmental agencies definitely anticipated in many respects the technique of non-violent mass action formulated by Gandhiji in 1921. In Bengal, the students were everywhere in the forefront of the struggle. For this, they were emotionally and intellectually prepared by Bankim Chandra's "Anandamath", the synthetic philosophy of Swami Vivekananda, the songs of Rabindranath, the clarion call of Aurabindo Ghosh and Bepin Chandra Pal for fight for freedom and finally by the passionate idealism of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das.

I think it worth while to recount here a small episode. Shri C. R. Das had gone to the Nagpur session of the Congress (Dec. 1920) to oppose Gandhiji's programme of non-co-operation. Eventually he was converted by Gandhiji. It was a different C. R. Das who returned to Bengal. The students of

<sup>3</sup> When the first world war broke out in 1914 most Indian nationalist leaders decided to suspend all agitation for political freedom and joined in the war efforts. Congress in its session at Madras (Dec. 1914) pledged its support to the British Government. Mahatma Gandhi who was in London at the time of the outbreak of war also offered his services to the British Government and on his return to India in 1915, led a campaign for recruitment in Gujrat for some time.

The revolutionary parties however thought this an hour of opportunity and boldly worked on a plan to overthrow the government by simultaneous violent uprisings. Some of them negotiated with the German government for arms and ammunitions and in collaboration with the revolutionaries of the Punjab a rebellion by the Indian Army was planned which came "within an ace of success". [Government of India, Report of the Sedition Committee].

Calcutta left their classes at the call of the country and at a mass rally at Mirzapur Square (now Sraddhanand Park), Deshbandhu greeted the students of Bengal with these words : "Students of Bengal, I bow down to thee.". These words acted like a charm and very soon the movement spread to everywhere in Bengal. Thousands of students sacrificed their career and plunged into the movement. Out of this new school of sacrifice, suffering and self-less work emerged a band of workers who played a dominant role in the public life of the province and are doing so even upto the present day.

On this unique response of the Bengal' students, Tendulkar writes (Tendulkar, Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. II) : "The message of non-co-operation bore fruit first in Bengal. As early as January, on an appeal by Das, 3000 College students went on strike in Calcutta. Thousands of boys and girls deserted schools. In a message to the youth of Bengal, Gandhi said 'I had expected no less ; I certainly expect still more. Bengal has great intelligence, it has greater heart, it has more than its share of the spiritual heritage for which our country is specially noted. You have more imagination, more faith, more emotion than the rest of India. You have falsified the calumny of cowardice on more occasions than one. There is therefore no reason why Bengal should not lead now as it has done before now..... If I could infect the whole of the student world with my faith, I know that the suspension of studies need not extend even to a year'. At the first opportunity, Gandhi went to Calcutta and this added to the enthusiasm of Bengal. He opened the National College on 4th February."

During this long period, the students however had no real organisation of their own. An All India Students Conference used to be held at the time of the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress. Similarly for a number of years, students' conferences were held at the time of annual political conference of Bengal Province. The President of the first such conference at Serajunge (1924) was Acharya Sir P. C. Roy, the President of the second conference at Faridpur was Deshbandhu C. R. Das and the third conference at Krishnagar was presided over by Sri Nirmal Chandra Chunder. There was however hardly any organisational base for these annual gatherings. A co-ordinated effort was made to set up a number

of district students associations between 1922 and 1924. The promoters Niranjan Sen Gupta, Upendra Nath Gupta, Ashutosh Bhattacharya and Jogesh Chandra Bhattacharya, to name only a few, also published an English journal "Student" for eight months. Other attempts had been made in the past to form students' organisations at Calcutta and elsewhere. Some of these units did very excellent work but usually their aim was limited and scope local. It was however widely felt that students should have their own broad based organisation with an independent programme and policy. A convention of students was organised in 1923. The preliminary meeting was held at Rani Mohan Roy Hall in which Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee. The session of the conference proper was held at Arya Samaj Hall (Cornwallis St.). The gathering however was not fully representative but at least a beginning was made.

Eventually, as a result of the efforts, the Calcutta Students Association was formed in 1924 with Sir P. C. Roy as its first Chairman. The aims and objects of the Association were laid down as under :

1. To foster friendship between students of different Colleges.
2. To organise Volunteer Corps with students of different Colleges to serve needy people and students in all spheres of life.
3. To start a student's home for needy students.
4. To start education lectures with the help of eminent scholars of the country.
5. To arrange financial assistance to poor and needy students.

The Calcutta Students Association continued its activities upto 1928. It must be put on record that a Students Home was actually established at Sitaram Ghosh Street in 1926 which benefited a number of needy students.

It is however clear that the aims and objects of the association laid down in papers did not represent all that were in the minds of the members. The association had certainly wider interests. The Calcutta Students Association gave a call to the students of Calcutta to join the hartal on the occasion of the visit of the Simon Commission on 3rd February,

1928. The workers of the Association took part in the picketing at the gates of the Presidency College (events which would be described in fuller details later on) and many of its members took a leading part in the formation of the All Bengal Students Association.

## CHAPTER I

We now come to the subject of our present survey—the history of the students movement in Bengal (1928-1934). We would claim that with the formation of the All Bengal Students Association in 1928, the student movement in India actually came of age. "It was in Bengal that the first students association with an effective organisation, the A.B.S.A., was formed in 1928. Even today throughout India the students organisations basically follow the pattern set by A.B.S.A." ("Jatiya Mukti Prayase Chatra Samaj" in Bengali by Amitava Chaudhuri in Jugantar, Congress Number, 1948). The A.B.S.A. had a widespread organisation throughout the province of Bengal built by the efforts of its members. It had an independent programme and policy of its own. The executive successfully guarded its independence under every stress and strain. As we shall presently see, the A.B.S.A. took a leading part in the Civil Disobedience movements initiated in 1930 and 1932 and it has been estimated that more than twelve thousand students were imprisoned as a result of activities independently undertaken in fulfilment of the programme and policies of the Association.

The years 1928-33 were momentous ones of contemporary Indian history. Nationalist aspirations became clear and well-defined. We can here give only a brief *resume* of the march of events leading to this period of active political struggle. The end of the first Great War in 1918 was followed by grave economic distress in India and sullen political discontent. All promises made by the British Govt. during the war now appeared to be of little consequence. The attitude was one of open hostility to Indian political aspirations and scant respect for public opinion in India. The Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwalla-Bagh massacre and Moslem grievances on the peace treaty with Turkey all contributed to rouse public opinion further. Mahatma Gandhi's answer was non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience and his programme was accepted by Congress at Calcutta (Sept. 1920) and Nagpur (Dec. 1920). The complex political philosophy of Gandhiji baffled many, European

and Indian alike, but the common man seemed to understand him much better. The rural masses in India are not quite as inert as many Western scholars think. They may have lived long in "pathetic contentment" but held on to the traditional concepts of virtue and good life quite effectively. They often responded heartily to Gandhiji's call and there was a mass upsurge of hitherto unprecedented dimensions. The non-co-operation movement was however suspended by Gandhiji in February 1922 after incidents of mob violence first in Bombay city and thereafter at Chauri Choura (Dt. Gorakhpur-U.P.). There were angry protests from other Congress leaders but ultimately the step Gandhiji took was ratified by Congress. He wanted the Congress to concentrate on constructive activities. C. R. Das in his presidential address at Gaya (1922) advocated Council entry and an active political policy and he was supported by Motilal Nehru and many other Congress leaders. The Congress however supported Gandhiji's programme. C. R. Das resigned and the Swaraj Party was formed with C. R. Das as President and Motilal Nehru as Secretary. The party sought elections into the councils with a view to obstruct the working of the Govt. The intention clearly was to keep a fighting political programme before the people. Initially, they met with tremendous success. C. R. Das even appeared to have entered into some negotiations with the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, on prospects of understanding with the British Government. Deshbandhu Das died in June 1925 and the prospects were not fulfilled. Thereafter the Swaraj Party showed signs of disintegration. Communal groups began to attain greater prominence. The revolutionary parties had been dealt a serious blow by the Govt. in Oct. 1925 after promulgation of the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance. There was no active political policy and the political situation appeared to be stagnant. There was a general feeling of frustration in the country. The Youth of the country was restless. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Act of 1919 envisaged fresh enquiry at the end of ten years. Apparently, the prospects of a Labour Government in Great Britain after the ensuing elections persuaded Lord Birkenhead to advance the date. In November 1927, Government announced a commission to enquire into the question of

constitutional reforms. The members including Sir John Simon the Chairman were all Europeans. This shocked all shades of Indian opinion and opposition was almost unanimous to this all-white Commission. Congressmen gradually closed their ranks and a new era of active political struggle appeared to be ahead. The adoption of the resolution advocating complete independence at the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress (Dec. 1929) indicated a new turn in the history of the Nationalist movement and was a triumph for the active and militant section. These events subsequently ushered in the two great mass movements of 1930 and 1932, the theory and technique of which attracted world wide interest. In Bengal, the revolutionary parties, became active and violent clashes with the forces of foreign government were events of every day occurrence. The dramatic raid on the Armoury at Chittagong (April 1930) demonstrated the grave potentialities of the movement. Government counter action became widespread, violent and at times brutally cruel. The flower of Bengal's Youth withered in British prisons. Many died as a result of widespread repression. More than 90% of the active workers of the revolutionary parties were students. The fiery experience of these years prepared the country for the final struggle for independence launched within the country in 1942 and from outside by the Indian National Army led by Netaji. . . The nature and significance of the student movement (1928-34) can only be evaluated in the background of these events of contemporary Indian history.

The third day of February 1928, was a landmark in the history of the times. The commission to enquire into the question of Indian constitutional reforms headed by Sir John Simon appointed by the British Government were to land at Bombay on the 3rd February 1928. A nationwide demonstration was called for on that day. The students of Calcutta readily responded to that call and joined the hartal announced for that day. The hartal at Calcutta was a complete success.

The police made preparations on a gigantic scale. There were troubles here and there but of a more serious nature at the Presidency College. The institution attracted students with best academic records but at the same time demanded a slavish loyalty to the regime. There were therefore frequent cases of

conflict between the students and the administration in one of which Shri Subhas Chandra Bose was involved in his student days. Already troubles were brewing there since the election of Shri Promode Kumar Ghoshal a brilliant student of the University as Secretary of the College Union in 1927. A few days before on the occasion of the College's Founders Day (20th January 1928) his speech stirred the British bureaucrats of the city. He had touched on the aspirations of the youth of the country for national freedom and had mentioned by name Subhas Chandra Bose as one of the distinguished ex-students of the College. The singing of Bande Mataram and the display of tri-colour badges (symbolic of the national flag) at the function constituted further affront to the authorities. Sri Ghoshal was called on to explain his conduct and as he refused to repent, was ultimately suspended—a step that profoundly agitated the students of Bengal.

On the day of the hartal some students of the Presidency College wanted to attend their classes and there was peaceful picketing at the gates of the College. Gradually, picketing became brisker. The College Square, with the streets around, was one vast mass of enthusiastic humanity but the workers and the public were perfectly peaceful and disciplined. All of a sudden, some European police sergeants fell upon Sri Ghoshal, who was only watching the scene in front of the main gate of the College and seriously assaulted him. It appears that he was singled out by a police agent in plain clothes. This unprovoked and cowardly assault roused the students of Calcutta. The news spread quickly and thousands of students collected at the Presidency College and the situation was fraught with the gravest consequences. There were clashes with the police around College Square. A mass attack against Mr. Stapleton the principal of the College was however averted at the intervention of some of the students. It is true that at this stage the vast assembly expressed their resentment but the provocation came entirely from the police. The charge of rioting levelled against the students by Mr. Tegart, the Commissioner of Police was vigorously controverted by Dr. B. C. Roy (later Chief Minister, West Bengal) and Sri T. C. Goswami in statements issued to the press the next day. They had visited the scene on the 3rd and had made personal investigations.

Really, a memorable day for the students passed. The incidents before Presidency College were not isolated ones. The students all over Bengal joined the demonstrations against the Simon Commission. In numerous institutions the authorities indulged in a policy of victimisation of students who joined the demonstrations. There were serious troubles in Bethune College, Murarichand College (Sylhet), Serampore College and Hooghly College. The days that followed found the students emotionally strung. I am not speaking of a few individuals but of thousands who participated in the events of the third February. Everywhere there was a determination to go together, to organise, to fight injustice and to work for the good of the country. There was an air of spontaneity in the movement which was its unique feature.

It is possible that there were incidents of a like nature in the past. This time however the students did not forget the lesson or forsake their enthusiasm. There were many amongst the students who were fully alive to the possibilities of the situation and who considered the demonstrations of the third February as only preliminary steps of a sustained movement. The restlessness amongst students found fresh expression every-day. The authorities of some institutions thought it fit to curb this rising tide of enthusiasm by pursuing a policy of repression. Here again Mr. Stapleton of Presidency College took the lead. The College and the Eden Hindu Hostel were closed down and proceedings were drawn against thirteen students for serious breach of discipline. It is understood that the decision to take action against them was arrived at a secret meeting of officials at Writers Buildings. The names were evidently supplied by the political branch of the Calcutta police and included one of us who had actually taken a leading part to restrain the students when feelings ran high on the third of February and Mr. Stapleton was about to be roughly handled. The pressure of public opinion was however such that the Governing Body of the College was compelled to appoint a Committee under the chairmanship of Sir B. L. Mitter to investigate the charges. The committee exonerated all but two of them. The authorities of Scottish Churches College also acted with similar lack of imagination and on 17/3/28 suspended Sri Sachindra Nath Mitra, the president of

the College Students Union for taking part in the hartal of the third February and for his connections with the student movement. This was followed by a strike of the students of the college. A serious trouble had earlier developed in the City College over the performance of Saraswati Puja in the College Hostel and there was a prolonged strike. From the districts, news of victimisation of students came every day. In this hour of trial, the students turned to Sri Subhas Chandra Bose the idol of young Bengal at that time. Late in 1927 and early in 1928, when troubles were just brewing in the Presidency College, the present writer met him on a few occasions and had his advise about the possibilities of organising the students of Bengal effectively. After the third of February, when the situation was taking a more serious turn every day and restlessness amongst students became widespread, he came forward to help and guide us. He personally arranged for the residence at 121A, Bowbazar Street of boarders of the Eden Hindu Hostel who were practically stranded and it was at this place that representatives of students of all Colleges of Calcutta used to meet and here the foundations of the All Bengal Students Association were laid. Parallel with the group of students of Presidency College, Sri Birendra Nath Das Gupta, a student of Jadavpur Engincering College and member of Executive Committee of the Calcutta Students Association, had collected a band of students around him and they were working unassuiningly to build up a students organisation. He had already brought out a Bengali journal "Chatra" to give expression to the ideals of the student movement. This eventually became the official journal of the A.B.S.A. We have already mentioned the activities of the Calcutta Students Association and after the third of February, it was possible for these different groups of students who were working separately, to know each other and work together. At this time Sri Sachindra Nath Mitra of Scottish Churches College also joined us. It may be worth while to mention that when we all agreed to work together, the question of distribution of offices or share in the executive was never raised or even thought of. In that inspiring moment the students of Calcutta rose above a common pettymindedness that has often been the bane of our public life.

The first practical step taken was to convene a general

meeting of the students of Calcutta on the 17th February 1928. This meeting was held at Albert Hall and was presided over by Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerjee. The vast gathering of students, the atmosphere of tense emotion and of buoyant enthusiasm made the scene quite unforgettable. In this meeting, the proposal for organising the students of Bengal in a single association was mooted and took a definite shape. A committee of convenors consisting of Promode Kumar Ghoshal, Birendra Nath Das Gupta and Amarendra Nath Roy was appointed. The convenors were authorised to take steps for the formation of a representative students organising committee and for that purpose call another meeting of the students of Calcutta at an early date.

The second All-Calcutta students meeting was held on the 6th March next. Sri Promode Kumar Ghoshal presided. The preliminary steps for the formation of a students organising committee were decided upon at this meeting. A new committee of convenors consisting of Promode Kumar Ghoshal, Birendra Nath Das Gupta, Sachindra Nath Mitra, Rebati Mohan Burman and Akshaya Kumar Sarker was appointed. This committee was to form the nucleus of the students organising committee and which was to be enlarged by the addition of two representatives from each college in Calcutta within the 15th day of March 1928. Elections were held often in spite of the opposition of the authorities in many colleges. The atmosphere of enthusiasm and solidarity that prevailed amongst the students of Bengal at that time, was a phenomenon that deserves the attention of all interested in the history of the country.

The Students Organising Committee was entrusted with the task of making preliminary arrangements for the formation of an All Bengal students organisation. The task was no easy one. The province had a large number of educational institutions—larger than any other province in India at that time. It was decided to leave school students outside the organisation.<sup>4</sup> However every College in the province had to be visited and the proposals mooted at Calcutta carried to the remotest interior. Personal contacts were essential for effective organisa-

<sup>4</sup> The restriction was subsequently removed.

tion in the initial stages. The students had mostly to fall back on their own resources in spite of the generosity of many well wishers. The government was hostile and even non-official educationists were at times unsympathetic.

The students organising committee held almost daily deliberations at 121A, Bowbazar Street in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose took great interest in these developments and we had free access to him to seek his help and guidance. The movement was also able to enlist the sympathy of many of the leaders of public life of Bengal.

It should however be noted that in all our meetings, except the first meeting of 17/2/1928, held in public or private where internal organisational problems were discussed and decisions taken, the students themselves conducted the meetings and no outsiders were allowed. From the very beginning an intense resolve to be self-reliant in all matters was evident.

In spite of all difficulties, the movement forged ahead with gathering momentum. In the course of next few months, several very well attended public meetings were held at Calcutta under the auspices of the Students Organising Committee. Contacts were also established with all centres outside Calcutta. The ferment of activity all over the province was a unique phenomenon. It was not a momentary effervescence of enthusiasm or unrest as many educationists had thought it to be. At this stage, it would be necessary to state briefly our own conception of the nature and significance of the student movement.

Idealism is a priceless attribute of youth of all times. The ideals of political independence and social equality loomed large before us. We can now but dimly recollect the grim determination and restless energy with which these ideals were pursued by some of the more intellectually alert students of our times. New ideas came from outside the country. The vista of a new world which was opened by successful revolutionary movements abroad and by science and technology profoundly moved the youth of the country. The urge for self-development and for service to the people found concrete expression in the student movement. The rising temper of nationalism no doubt largely conditioned the character of the movement. The proposed organisation however was neither conceived as a purely

political body nor as a mere union of students fighting for their rights and privileges. The student movement of 1928 was equally alive to the very important task of self-development and self-expression in every aspect of life. From the very beginning the importance of supplementing the limited scope of education in the institutions of a country under foreign bondage was realised. Evening classes, extension lectures, sports and athletics were organised.

Social services were undertaken on a wide scale, particularly in the districts, and attempts were made to train personnel for that purpose. As we shall see later, one of the first acts of the All-Bengal Students Association was to take steps for the establishment of a Workers Training College.

Foreign contacts were established very early in the history of the movement. We were in correspondence with some of the Indian revolutionaries in exile—Dr. Taraknath Das in Germany (later in America), Sj. Rashbehari Bose in Japan and Sj. Sailendra Nath Ghosh in America. They were unfailing sources of inspiration to us. Eventually the All-Bengal Students Association was in touch with most of the student and youth organisations, Indian and non-Indian, in Europe and America (see Appendix).

To give a clearer idea of the character of the movement, we quote extracts from the writings of some of the members of the Executive body of the Association.

I. Speech of Promode K. Ghosal, Chairman, Reception Committee, of the All Bengal Students' Conference, Calcutta, September 1928.

Pandit Nehru, Gentlemen & Friends—

On behalf of the Reception Committee it is my happy privilege this afternoon, to extend to you a hearty welcome.

It is a happy day for us, when the natural ties of love, sympathy and fellowship that exist between us have brought us together at this annual re-union. This re-union will no doubt contribute to a great extent towards cementing and perfecting those ties. Our yearning, born of our natural affinity, for coming into close contact for the exchange of ideas and mutual goodwill, at least for a few days in the year, can be best satisfied by such a re-union.

Our reception to you is inadequate, for our resources are

small. But it consoles my mind to think that our relations are not such as to demand any great decorum and formality. It is my duty now to point out to you the objectives with which in view the Reception Committee have convened this conference. I have already emphasised on its great social value—its contribution towards wiping out any feeling of estrangement and aloofness that might exist amongst us, towards perfecting our "entente cordiale".

But the utility of convening this conference does not end here. In the present state of society immense potentialities of co-ordinated activities are recognised in every sphere of life. Co-operative movements are order of the day.

It is therefore but meet and proper that the students of Bengal should be given an opportunity of coming together and by mutual co-operation and understanding, decide on a common programme and embark on a common line of action for their own advancement and a greater cause—the advancement of their country.

To afford such an opportunity has been the foremost objective with which in view the Reception Committee has convened this conference. The idea of bringing into existence a strong and popular association of the students of Bengal to regulate and co-ordinate their various extra academical activities has been rapidly gaining ground everywhere in Bengal. It has been but a product of the natural evolution of youthful thought in this country and the inspiring examples of the achievements of students movements in other countries. The idea gradually became so very powerful that the students community was impatient to give it a concrete shape, to translate a fascinating vision to reality.

This accounts for the rapid growth of numerous students' organisations all over the country. This accounts for the resolution of the students of Calcutta assembled at a mass meeting at Albert Hall on the 6th. March to convene a well represented conference of the students of Bengal at an early date. This conference is the direct outcome of the resolution.

The task before us therefore, is to devise ways and means for the immediate satisfaction of our common desire—i.e. for the formation of an All Bengal Students Association and to decide its programme of work.

Notwithstanding this general desire on the part of the student community and its well-wishers to create an association of students of Bengal and to see it live and work, the utility and importance of such an association may have remained vague to many, unknown to some and unbelievable to a few. It is therefore my duty to attempt to the best of my understanding, to state in clear and unambiguous language the great possibilities of such an association.

Human society is marching with the time. Movement is everywhere the sign of life and a living society must move with time and keep pace with its rapid progress. Thus in a living and full blooded society, there is a continuous change, adjustments-old ideas yielding place to new ; traditions giving way before the imperious demands of exigencies. In order that it may withstand the ravages of time, a society and necessarily its component individuals—must adjust themselves to their everchanging environments. In nature we see the same thing and humanity is no exception to natural law.

But it is sometimes found that a society has ceased to move. There is dull stagnation in every sphere of life. Dogmas and fetishes, artificialities and conventions, threadbare theories and anti-diluvian doctrines reign supreme and hold the peoples minds in their iron grip. Reason and rationality are condemned as arrogance and blasphemy and sought to be stifled. The future of such a society is dark indeed for it has flagrantly violated the natural laws of evolution and progress and must pay the penalty for it. That society becomes more and more decadent every day and is ultimately overwhelmed with misery. It has been found that in this dark period of a nation's history the restlessness and robust optimism of young hearts have come to the rescue of the nation. National degeneracy and consequent sufferings have their reactions and react quickly on the mobile intellects of the youth. This spirit of adventure, fascination for exploration and conquest and absence of any obsession with ancient ideas impel the youth to seek fresh fields and pastures new, to explore new realms of thought and make new discoveries—to pull-down old and tottering fabrics and rear up new superstructures in their place. Young minds refuse to be dominated by antiquated and exploded theories and guided by obsolete and meaningless formulae.

They want to probe into the mysteries of nature and man, with keen and observant eyes and determine for themselves their rules of conduct. They want to reconstruct society according to the changed circumstances amidst which they live.

The co-ordinated activities of the youth for these ends give rise to what has been called youth movement or the revolt of the youth. It is a movement of revolt against the fascination, born of weakness, for institutions that have outlived the period of their usefulness.

The wonderful achievements of youth movement in resuscitating morbid national lives, are recorded in the pages of history. The contributions of youth movement towards national regeneration in countries like Germany, Russia, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Egypt etc. are well known.

Our country-once great and glorious beyond all others—the cradle and nursery of human civilisation is now in the clutches of degeneracy and decay. It would not do for us to sit in idle complacency and dream the dreams of the days of Ramchandra and Judhisthir, Asoke and Chandragupta, Akbar and Shahjahan. Those days are gone and gone for ever. We must be wide awake to the living realities of the present—to the inexorable demands of our present—to the inexorable demands of our present environments and circumstances. We see all around us artificialities and stagnation, absence of courage to face the stern realities of to-day and fondness for the shadows of the past. If the old order has changed everywhere, yielding place to new, there is no reason why it should not change here too and a newer and better order spring up in its place. We are hopelessly out of date in a progressive and modernised world. We are living, as it were, in the mediaeval age and the spirit of modern civilisation has, at its best, only touched us superficially. The result has been that while the world is progressing and prospecting, we are walking the downward slope to misery and ruin and that with lifeless resignation.

The prospect is dreary indeed but it must fill our hearts with hope and joy to see the unmistakable signs of a coming renaissance in our country. The youth of the country could not be cowed down by the dismal situation of the present. Visionaries that they are, they have dreamt the vision of a glorious future.

They have been buoyed up by the faith that a genuine youth movement is to be launched in the country, the students must form the vanguard in the noble army of workers. I believe and I hope my belief is shared by a large majority of my friends that the first mission of the All Bengal Students Association should be to take up the pioneer work in connection with the general youth movement in the country. For this purpose the Students Association have to draw up a programme of extra academical activities for the members.

Here I must speak a few words on the educational system prevailing here. Times without member, we are advised by many of our well wishers to continue ourselves entirely to our prescribed studies and routine of work. With due deference to them, I am constrained to say that the educational system of our country has reduced itself to mechanical compliance with routine work and proved unproductive culturally and economically. The paucity of our present day contributions to world's thought and culture and the financial conditions of our educated class bear ample testimony to the truth of my contention. It would not be fair for us to throw the entire blame on the educational authorities alone. Various extraneous circumstances are operative in hampering the real object of education. But in any case we cannot remain complacently contented only with our academical work, without serious detriment to our real well being and advancement. Here comes the need for a well organised and well planned system of extra-academical activities designed to train the students—the budding citizens for their future responsibilities, to build them up into true and virile men and active and untiring workers for our national uplift.

The young student brings with him to his college or school, his plastic body and plastic mind. The object of education should be to develop and build up perfect physical and mental health for him and equip him for the strains and stresses of life that he may carve out a happy career for himself and render the best account of himself to his home, to his country and to humanity in his own humble way. Our educational system has failed to achieve this object. The Students Association should take up the matter in right earnest.

Side by side with his academic work, every member of the

Students Association should be called upon to contribute his quota to the general youth movement. The Students Association should help in the campaign against untouchability and rigours of caste system, communalism and fanaticism, the dominance of antiquated scriptures and self-styled prophets. The Association should carry on a ruthless war against the appalling ignorance and illiteracy of the country and make strenuous attempts to spread free primary education in the country. The Association should help in the spreading of sanitary knowledge in villages and improving their sanitary conditions. It should organise co-operative measures for the betterment of the economic conditions of its members, develop a spirit of adventure and enterprise amongst them and a desire to deviate from the beaten track in search of better avenues to happiness and prosperity. It should attempt to inculcate discipline, sense of duty and an esprit de corps amongst its members by organising and training a volunteer corps. It should organise and run on proper and up-to-date lines, gymnasium for physical culture and libraries, debating societies, extension lectures for intellectual culture. It should organise a new type of journal to propagate its ideas and encourage new lines of thinking.

I have only indicated, in brief, a few of the various activities to which the Students Association, when it comes into existence, may direct itself. Its possibilities are immense and it may one day become potent force in building up the nation's budding youth and ultimately the nation itself.

A few words more and I have finished. The success of the ambitious scheme of the proposed Students Association, will depend to a great extent, on the co-operation of the students, the educational authorities and the guardians of the students. Lately we have come across some bitter criticisms and misrepresentations of the student movement and some papers have sought to make a capital out of the incidents on the Hartal day (3rd Feb.) and the recent strikes at some colleges. It may be that these criticisms are due to a deplorable misunderstanding. If not, these are part of some insidious and sinister propaganda which should be treated with the contempt it deserves.

The Hartal on Feb. 3rd was neither a political propaganda

nor a political manœuvre. It was a solemn protest against a national wrong and the student community being an integral part of the nation participated in it. The recent strikes in some colleges were due to a genuine desire on the part of students to get redress of some legitimate grievances. And thus it would be apparent to even the most simple minded man that the attempts to portray the students as a band of political agitators working under the hidden hand of Moscow, are but the products of some unbalanced imagination. Love of country and courage to stand for what we believe to be right should always be our greatest assets and if that be politics, let such politics be ours.

I thank you all heartily for your great interest in the growing students movement for it is this interest that must have brought you here. I am confident that my student friends who have come here with a faith in the success of the movement and with open and enlightened minds will succeed admirably in giving a distinct lead to the movement.

I now, formally invite the president-elect to preside over the conference.

(II) "The student movement has always been and is in essence a youth movement. Only on account of facilities of organisation offered by common interest and to avoid the danger of exploitation by outsiders, we have confined the organisation to students.

Youth is characterised by restless energy, is always dissatisfied with the present and looks forward to the future for something brighter and better. In its zeal to transcend the present, youth dares work revolutions and creates new things. So as a manifestation of this intense energy and restless dissatisfaction, we see that in all ages in history, youth has rebelled against injustice and inequality, against old illogical dogmas which time has reduced to mere absurdities. It is superfluous to say that our life—the entire social structure, the educational system, the political machinery—needs thorough overhauling. The youth of the country cannot rest content with such a state of affairs. Ignorance and illiteracy is the disease and education is the remedy. We students realised it long ago. We also realised that in the sphere of higher study and in the realm of original research our contribution was extremely meagre while

in the field of athletics and sports our performance was ridiculously poor. This growing realisation on our part of the national degeneration and backwardness in every sphere of life has found expression in the student movement of today. Ours is a movement to regain physical and mental efficiency that ought to be ours ; it is also a general movement against injustice and inequality wherever found, against ignorance and half education, against intellectual stagnancy and moral misconceptions. (*The Student Movement in Bengal: Its Aims and Ideals*—by A. Roy, Forward 29-12-1928).

(III) ‘India’s main strength lies in her peasantry. We have to awaken this vast mass of humanity. The only way to do this is through education. The peasants cannot have even two meals a day inspite of the fact that they sweat from morning to night often in the scorching sun. Even in these circumstances their minds do not rebel against such gross injustice, against such a system of society where they will labour only to enrich a class of exploiters.

It has become natural for them to lead such an abject life without education, without health, and without any material comforts. The aim of the Students Association should be to educate them, to bring the torch of knowledge to them and to awaken them so that they may realise their actual position and themselves try to end such a state of affairs’ (Translated from Bengali, Rangpur District Students Assn. Annual Report of Sri Naresh Chandra Shome—Chatra, Sraban 1335 B.S.).

As the movement progressed the attitude of educationists as well as of the public gradually changed. The new force, the organised student movement, came in for the due recognition. When therefore we approached Dr. W. S. Urquhart, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University (a Scotch Missionary attached to Scottish Churches College and its Principal for some time) to open the first All-Bengal Students Conference, he readily agreed. We think it was no easy decision for him as the students movement with its pronounced political bias was looked upon with great suspicion by the foreign administration. Later on, as we shall see, we had to meet him on various occasions, particularly in connection with our efforts to have compartmental system of examinations introduced in the University of Calcutta and we gratefully remember the

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, ALL-BENGAL STUDENTS' CONFERENCE  
SEPTEMBER, 1928



*Sitting (L. to R.):*

Birendra Roy, Amar Roy, Sachin Mitra, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, Promode Ghosal, Biren Das Gupta, Sushil Sen, Jagadish Chatterjee.

*Standing (L. to R.):*

Mani Lahiri (4) Krishna Kumar Chatterjee (15), Hiren Bhattacharya (27)



sympathy and help we invariably received from him. We take this opportunity to record our profound respect for the magnanimity and broadmindedness of this great educationist.

## CHAPTER II

The two main tasks before the Students Organising Committee were to draw a constitution for the proposed All Bengal Students Association and to call a representative conference of the students of Bengal where that organisation could be formally inaugurated. The constitution was finally drawn up after prolonged deliberations often lasting late at night. The main features of the constitution were :

(i) The organisation was to be named "All Bengal Students Association" and its membership limited to college students only.

(2) The constituent bodies of the Association were to be the District Students Associations which in their turn were to be composed of local associations to which all individual members were to be attached. No educational institution could have direct affiliation to the Association. Apparently this was done to give adequate representation to the districts and reduce the overwhelming weightage of the students of Calcutta. The city was divided into 3 districts excluding 24 Parganas.

(2) The Executive of the Association was to consist of two bodies (a) The Central Council formed of the representatives elected by the district associations. (b) a Working Committee consisting of a President, two Vice Presidents, a General Secretary, two Asisstant Secretaries and a Treasurer and one member from each affiliated district association elected by the Central Council. There was provision for co-option of five more members to represent areas where district associations were not formed.

For the first conference to be held at Calcutta, a Reception Committee was formed with Sri Promode Kumar Ghoshal as Chairman and Sri Birendra Nath Das Gupta as General Secretary ; other sectional secretaries were Manindra Mohan Lahiri, Biren Roy, Bimal Ukil, Kumud Lal Bhattacharyya, Jagadish Chatterji and Amar Roy (Treasurer). Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was invited to preside over the conference. The invitation was accepted by him after some exchange of correspondence with Sri Subhas Chandra Bose. A decision was informally arrived at in the course of discussions that a natio-

nal leader or eminent educationist from outside the province should be invited to preside over the annual conferences. The A. B. S. A. before it was eventually banned held three conferences and it is worth while to note the names of the persons who were invited to preside over or open the conference on these occasions.

First conference (Calcutta) 1928. President Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, opened by Dr. W. S. Urquhart. Second conference (Mymensingh) 1929. President: Dr. Muhammad Alam of Punjab. Third conference (North Calcutta) 1931. President : Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya ; opened by : Prof. C. R. Reddy, one time Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.

The long cherished conference was held at Calcutta from 22nd to 25th September 1928 at a specially erected pandal at Mirzapur Square (Sraddhanand Park), Calcutta. The conference was attended by about 500 delegates and 1000 members of Reception Committee and a large number of visitors. The districts were very strongly represented and it could undoubtedly be claimed that the conference was fully representative of the students of Bengal. Amongst the invited guests who attended the conference were many educationists and leading public men of the province and outside. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose took great interest in the deliberations and was present almost throughout the entire proceedings.

We print elsewhere the speeches of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sri Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. Urquhart together with the texts of the resolutions adopted at the conference (Appendix). The Reception Committee arranged for a varied programme. There was an athletic sports competition and music competition open to students only. Judges in the music competition were Sarala Devi Chaudhurani and Gopeswar Banerjee. Sri Dilip Kumar Roy and Pandit Nehru were present and listened to the music. The prizes were distributed by Pandit Nehru. The general standard according to Sri Dilip Kumar Roy was higher than in the past. There was also a debating contest and Pandit Nehru who distributed the prizes commended the excellence of the standard attained. The recipients of the best prizes were Khagen Das Gupta and Ranadhir Sarma Sarker.

Immediately after the open session of the conference, the delegates elected the Provisional Central Council of A.B.S.A.

and its Working Committee including the office bearers for the ensuing year.

The Central Council had its first formal meeting in the conference pandal on the 25th in the presence of the President, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. The committee was greatly benefited by his advise and suggestions and as a matter of fact some of the resolutions adopted by the committee in connection with the immediate programme of work were initiated in accordance with his instructions. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was also present by special invitation of the President of the conference.

The following were the office bearers of the Association for the first year.

President : Promode Kumar Ghoshal.

Vice Presidents : Sachindra Nath Mitra  
Ashoke Chandra Sen.

General Secy. : Birendra Nath Das Gupta.

Asst. Secretaries : Atul Kumar and Aparna Dhar Gupta.

Treasurer : Amarendra Nath Roy.

Interviewed by the Free Press before his departure from Calcutta, Pandit Nehru observed "I have been much impressed by the students conference not so much by the enthusiasm of the movement that was evident enough but more by the evident air of business that the organisers had. This was more evident immediately after the conference when the new provisional committee met to frame a programme of active work. I have no doubt that the new All-Bengal Students Association is going to be a strong and effective body" (Forward, September 26th 1928).

The Association thus started with the blessings and active sympathy of two great personalities of our times who were destined to play a significant role in modern Indian history. The conference which embodied the efforts of the students of Bengal for many months was undoubtedly a great achievement. The foundations of the organisation were soundly laid. The task now before the students was harder and required more strenuous and sustained efforts. The organisation had to be made more broad-based, a practical programme had to be formulated and carried into effect. All this required careful

planning and patient and unobtrusive work. The students had to rely on their own resources and on their part-time labour.

It is necessary at this stage to state briefly certain divergences in approach to the main aims and objects of the Association. The All Bengal Students Association was from the very beginning confronted with different ideals. One was to organise the students with a view to their all round development, physically, morally and intellectually. It is true that the Association was not conceived to be in the nature of a trade union, nor could it function as such but all the same it was necessary to develop cohesion and *esprit de corps* to guard against injustice and oppression in the peculiar circumstances of a country fighting for national freedom.

On the other hand, we had to organise the students so that they might contribute their due share in the fight for national freedom. There were some who even conceived the students association as a semi-military organisation to train and discipline the young fighters for country's freedom. As the country entered into an era of active political struggle, such divergent approach gradually dwindled in significance. However that may be, there was always scope for difference of opinion in formulating the immediate programme of work and long deliberations often preceded decisions on many questions.

Equally difficult for the Association was the task of finding and maintaining its true place in the public life of the country. The Indian National Congress and the revolutionary parties were engaged in the task of winning freedom from foreign bondage. The Trade Unions and peasants organisations led the class struggle for economic justice. The workers of all these organisations were often students who were at the same time active members of the A.B.S.A. The Executive of the Association had to steer clear of a policy of subservience or hostility to these organisations. The A.B.S.A. however on many occasions worked on a common platform in fulfilment of a common programme with Indian National Congress, the Trade Unions and other public organisations. The Executive however always zealously and resolutely guarded its independence.

### CHAPTER III

In this chapter we propose to describe briefly the activities of the Association from the day of inauguration upto the second annual conference held at Mymensingh in Sept-Oct. 1929. At the first meeting of the Working Committee, (reported in "Forward" of 14-10-28) the following programme of activities (to be undertaken immediately after the re-opening of schools and colleges) was decided upon.

1. Establishment of free day and night schools for imparting elementary education to poor students and working classes.
2. Establishment of a Volunteer Corps at Calcutta and its branches in the districts.
3. The establishment of a Workers Training College at Calcutta (for the present).
4. Establishment of study circles, libraries and reading rooms.
5. Establishment of a free Hindi school.
6. Maintenance of the Journal "Chatra".
7. Establishment of Physical culture centres.
8. Collection of important data concerning village life (already begun).
9. Arrangements for an All India Students Sporting Tournament during Congress week (December 1928).
10. Carrying on active propaganda for the organisation of District Students Associations.

The following further details are available from the source from which we have already drawn.

"The Volunteer Corps— : It is a well-known fact that in order to be fit for any sort of organised work, it is essential that we should go through a regular course of training. Moreover, it is very regrettable that the sense of discipline amongst us is extremely loose and it is superfluous to add that we should first develop a real sense of discipline before we can consider ourselves fit for any effective social service. With these aims in view and also in order to develop a spirit of fellowship amongst ourselves, we are going to start a Volunteer organisation.

"Workers Training College." : The education received in ordinary educational institutions is far from complete. Those of us who will work in villages in their leisure time should have an all-round and thorough education. So in order to provide our workers with a sound and comprehensive course of education and also for those who would like to supplement their usual academic education, we shall hold regular evening classes in a large variety of subjects such as history, geography, economics, politics, sociology, natural sciences, general hygiene, elocution etc. These classes will be free for all students.

"Educational work in the Villages: Together with the ordinary work of teaching people to read and to write, we also propose to deliver certain lectures on general knowledge, practical hygiene, sanitation and modern agricultural methods which the village people can profitably employ . . . (The Student Movement in Bengal by A. Roy, Forward 29/12/1928).

After the meeting of the Working Committee and just on the eve of the holidays, several teams of students proceeded to the districts with a view to propagate the ideals and aims of the Association.

The organisation spread rapidly into the interior of the province. The programme of work laid down by the Executive was taken up earnestly not only at Calcutta but also in the districts. Study circles, Night Schools and Libraries were established and often functioned very successfully. Student workers visited the villages and collected useful information in accordance with the programme laid down by the Working Committee. A form was specially designed for the purpose. Within a few months, it became evident that A.B.S.A's programme to establish mass contact was full of promise. Many educationists and public men offered help and guidance. The political developments in the country however loomed largely before the young association. The Simon Commission which arrived earlier in the year was continuing its labours and was visiting the provinces. It everywhere met with almost unanimous opposition and hostile demonstrations. The temper of the people was rising. There was an air of expectancy, a sense of deepening crisis all over the country. The death of Lala Lajpat Rai following an assault on him by the police on the occasion of popular demonstration against

the Simon Commission at Lahore created deep resentment. A group of revolutionaries (the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Army) under the leadership of Bhagat Singh swiftly dealt a counter blow by shooting to death the British police officer supposed to be in charge. We find that the A.B.S.A. called a public meeting on 29-11-28 to condole the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. The students present resolved to raise funds for his memorial Fund and to boycott the Simon Commission when it was due to arrive in the city. This was followed by another largely attended students meeting held on 6/12/28 under the auspices of A.B.S.A. at Albert Hall under the presidentship of Sri Subhas Chandra Bose who delivered an impassioned appeal for hartal and boycott of the commission. The decision to join the hartal was affirmed.

The session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta was by this time near. The students of the country were keenly interested in this session as the resolution advocating complete independence as the immediate goal of the country was due to come up. The A.B.S.A. secured about 600 concessional tickets for students. Many of its members also enrolled themselves in the corps of Volunteers raised by Sri Subhas Chandra Bose. The Association also opened a tea stall in the exhibition grounds (Park Circus Maidan). The members of the Association themselves prepared and served tea and snacks to delegates and visitors. The profits went to the Association. The idea was to extol the dignity of labour and to enable the members of the Association to be in touch with the delegates from different parts of the country so that they could be conversant with the currents of thought at this historic gathering.

Immediately after the session of the Indian National Congress, a public meeting was held at Arya Samaj Hall on 3rd January, 1929 under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. Sri Promode Kumar Ghoshal presided. The meeting was addressed amongst others by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sri K. F. Nariman and Sri Subhas Chandra Bose. We quote at some length the report of the meeting which appeared in "Forward" of 4th January, 1929. "Sri Sachindra Nath Mitra of A.B.S.A. read out a statement showing how within the last two months, the Association had enrolled 1000 members in Calcutta alone and no fewer than fifteen branches had been opened in 15 different districts

of Bengal. Study circles have also been organised and a central Study Hall which will be styled as Students Parliament is shortly going to be opened. Undeterred by want of funds the Association through its branches is making an earnest endeavour to form a Volunteer corps.

Not the least of the ambitious programme of work chalked out by the association is the proposal to establish on modern lines a Workers Training College which will try to equip the workers who want to carry on steady work among the masses with all the they need to know about elocution, pamphleteering, scientific propaganda etc. In addressing the meeting, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said that the question was very often raised and discussed as to whether students should participate in politics or not. There could not be any doubt that they should participate in polities. But said Panditji, it was not the easiest of jobs that it was supposed to be. It was not merely getting up on the platform and unburdening of some worn out platitudes. Politics essentially dealt with the psychology of man and they who wanted to take part in politics must undergo a regular training and must have technical knowledge. A politician must be a psychologist and better still, if he could be well versed in sociology.

Passing on to the talk of revolution and revolutionary activities so often indulged in by platform orators, the Pandit said that the task of being a revolutionary was as difficult as that of being an expert. The enemies against whom they were pitted were all experts, specialists in their particular line and if they wanted to oust them, they must be more serious and whole-hearted in their work. They could not ignore the fact that the government at present in force in the country had in its employment thousands of well paid full time experts and as against these, what could they do? It was therefore all the more necessary that if they wanted to become true national workers, if they wanted any revolution to come about they must try to be more serious in their business and gain the expert knowledge and skill.

Dr. K. F. Nariman who spoke next said that from what he had seen of students of Bengal, he was sure that the movement initiated here by the students could only be primarily political movement. And if their leaders wanted to shun

politics, the students would literally drag them into it. The programme of work laid before the student community by the Students Association of Bengal, if carried out throughout the province and if similar work among the students in different provinces was co-ordinated and associations working in this direction amalgamated, the students movement would grow so strong in the country that nobody would be able to ignore it. The forces ranged against the students' legitimate activities would take shelter in what was known as "diplomatic retreats" . . . . Concluding Mr. Nariman said that before they talked of independence they should try to realise the implications of that talk. They should realise the difficulties that lay ahead and if after weighing the difficulties in the balance, they considered the cause of the country to be greater than anything else in the world they could enlist themselves in the Swaraj Army. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose said that when they talked of creating a new nation and bringing into existence a new order of things—what they really meant was to create a new frame of mind, a new mentality—and when that could be done, they must think that they had attained success to a great extent. The external was nothing but the reflex of the internal. If the inner man could be transformed, the external would automatically change.

Continuing Sri Subhas Chandra Bose said that there was such a thing as the system of values in philosophy and that system would change when they would think in terms of freedom. In the light of the new order that was emerging this system of values would have to be revalued and from that time there was bound to be a conflict with the vested interests."

The Simon Commission arrived at Calcutta on the 12th January, 1929. A successful hartal was organised under the auspices of the Indian National Congress. In accordance with the mandate of a resolution passed on the 6th Dec. 1928 the All-Bengal Students Association called on students of Bengal to abstain from attending their classes and to make the hartal successful in every way. Most of the schools and colleges were closed by the authorities and the troubles of February last were avoided. Some government managed institutions were however opened and a determined effort was made by the workers of the A.B.S.A. to prevent the students of

those institutions from attending. There was brisk picketing around College Square and classes could not be held at Sanskrit College and Hindu & Hare Schools. The Presidency College was again the main centre of conflict. A number of students of the College attended. This gave rise to hostile demonstrations. A large number of students arrived and amidst shouts of "Bande Mataram" hoisted a black flag at the main gate. The police in large numbers guarded the College but no untoward incidents happened. There is no doubt that the authorities had learned by experience.

On the 19th January next, an anti-Simon Commission procession was organised which marched through the streets of Calcutta. The students of Calcutta joined the procession in large numbers following an appeal by A.B.S.A. and the procession was reported to be the longest in the history of Calcutta. Sri J. M. Sen Gupta, Mayor of Calcutta for many years and a member of C.W.C. led the procession.

The Students Parliament under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. (already mentioned) was opened on 31-1-29 amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. The following report appeared in "Forward" of 1-2-29.

"In declaring the Students Parliament open at the Lecture Hall of the Ashutosh Building on 31-1-29 evening, Prof. Radhakrishnan delivered a stirring speech which kept his big audience of men, women and students literally spell-bound for about half an hour. At the very outset the speaker recognised frankly enough where the University had failed and deprecated in the clearest possible manner the habit of cramming and superficial intellectualism which it had fostered among its "alumni". And this was precisely why he had consented with the greatest pleasure and utmost readiness to associate himself with the opening ceremony of this Students Parliament which represented at least so far he himself was concerned, a distinct break with the old rut of the past. When a tremendous ferment was going on every where in the world, the speaker noted with great satisfaction that the student community here were not entirely free from the blessed contagion, nay, had boldly thrown themselves in the fray without stopping to count the cost.

Continuing Prof. Radhakrishnan said that safety and

respectability were no longer only aims of our youth who were out to lead what Haldane called a dedicated life, setting aside for the moment all thoughts of personal comforts, amusements and so forth, in a great effort to rebuild our national life along thoroughly sound healthy lines. The youth of our country, concluded the speaker, had at last discovered that after all, we also have a right to be happy, a right to reach out boldly after adventure and progress in all departments of life, come what may."

Sri Sachindra Nath Mitra read a paper touching upon the genesis and growth of the youth movement, with special reference to its bearing on the political situation in our country today and outlined a constructive scheme for our national salvation in which the youth of the country are to play the most important part.

A discussion followed. Dr. C. V. Raman and Sri Subhas Chandra Bose were the most prominent among those who took part in it.

Dr. Raman in course of a humorous speech said that the past of a nation cannot be entirely scrapped. Revolutionary ideas regarding life and society, art and sciences etc might also be found in old dusty volumes coming to us from a remote past ; and respect for originality was the only spirit in which all questions should be approached. In the exuberance of our youth it was not necessary to destroy before constructing. This certainly was not the teaching of science. We must find the truth, old or new, and follow truth wherever it comes from.

Sri Subhas Chandra Bose then dwelt on the immense possibilities of the movement in a lucid speech which was thoroughly appreciated. After commenting on the great confusion of thought that existed in the country today, Sri Subhas Chandra Bose proceeded to show that any movement of young-men and women was not necessarily a youth movement. It was essentially a creative movement which aimed at creating a new world for us. And the very first step in this matter was to have a clear vision of a new order. We should then go over the past history of India in order to develop a historic consciousness in ourselves, discover the law of the rise and decay of civilisations and finally to find out the causes of our national degradation.

Continuing Sri Bose said what was wanted in India today was not only a federation in the political world but also in the cultural sphere. And in this great business it was the privilege of youth of the country to help and to lend a hand. (Forward, 1-2-1929).

We have quoted the newspaper reports of some of the meetings held under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. early in its career. These would give a glimpse of the ideals and activities of the Association, the ideological influences to which it was subject and some of the colourful personalities of our times to whom the members of the Association looked for help and guidance. It was but natural they often deeply impressed the activities of the youthful students. One year had now passed since the stirring events of the third of February, 1928. The A.B.S.A. had taken a decision to observe the day as a Students Day. The following report appears in the Forward of 5th February, 1929.

"With commendable enthusiasm, the All-Bengal Students Association, celebrated on Sunday (3-2-29) the Students Day at Calcutta. From dawn to dusk, students had observed the programme systematically arranged by their leaders. In the morning five big motor lorries chartered for the purpose and tastefully decorated paraded the streets with a contingent of students whose unceasing cries of Bandemataram seemed to send a thrill of joy through the heart of admiring spectators. The noon was devoted to collecting funds from public and students. . . . towards the evening a procession of students marched through the streets singing national songs in accompaniment of instruments.

But the enthusiasm of students was very high when they poured in large numbers at the Albert Hall, which even before the appointed time was packed to full. In the unavoidable absence of the president elect, Sri Subhas Chandra Bose, Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraborty was voted to the chair. Several lady students also attended. Several resolutions were passed, amongst which were the following :—

(A) This meeting of the students of Calcutta puts on record the following programme of work among others for the ensuing year and urges every student to carry out the programme individually and collectively.

1. Library and study circle.
2. Free Primary School.
3. Students Volunteer corps.
4. Workers' Training School.
5. Students Co-operative Store.

(B) This meeting of the students of Calcutta condemns the high handed action of the police of Barisal in mercilessly belabouring the youngmen and students of Barisal engaged in peaceful picketing before the Exhibition and records its sympathy and admiration for their peaceful but firm attitude.

The meeting terminated after an inspiring address by Sri Jnananjan Neogy on the "Revolt of Bengal" illustrated by lantern slides.

The Students Day was also celebrated with equal enthusiasm in almost all the districts of Bengal.

The period (from first to the second annual conference) was one of continued growth and expansion in all directions. District associations functioned in almost all districts. The A.B.S.A. extended its organisation to three districts outside the province of Bengal which were largely Bengali speaking ; that is, Manbhumi in Bihar and Sylhet and Goalpara in Assam.

The activities of these associations often did not find adequate publicity but undoubtedly these constituted the main strength of the A.B.S.A. A large number of night schools, study circles, gymnasiums and Seva Samities and libraries, functioned under these district bodies. A cadre of student workers had thus come into existence and they were in constant touch with the people of all ranks of society.

We find that in the course of a few months, many of the districts held very successful annual students conferences. We briefly give some particulars.

1. Murshidabad on 7/10/1928  
President: Braja Bhushan Gupta.
2. Mymensingh on 19/4/29  
President: Promode Kumar Ghoshal.
3. Khulna on 5/5/1929  
President: Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta.

4. Chittagong on 13/5/1929  
President: Prof. Nripendra Ch. Banerjee.
5. Hooghly on 21/7/1929  
President: Sri Subhas Chandra Bose  
(we print his speech in Appendix)
6. Howrah on 5/8/1929  
President: Sri Barada Prasanna Pain.
7. Burdwan on 3/8/1929  
President: Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta.
8. Rajshahi on 17/8/29  
President: Sri Surendra Mohan Ghosh.  
Mr. T. T. Williams, Principal of Rajshahi Government College opened the conference.
- 9 Murshidabad on 21/9/29  
President: Sm. Latika Basu
10. Jalpaiguri on 27/4/30  
President: Prof. Atul Sen
11. Tipperah District on 12/3/30  
President: P. K. Chakraborty (Editor—Forward, Advance).

It would be worth while to quote here the following lines specially addressed to the students by Gandhiji after the election of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as president of the Congress in 1929.

"The students should devote the whole of their vacation to village service. To this end instead of taking their walks along beaten tracks, they should walk to the villages within easy reach of their institutions and study the condition of the village folk and befriend them.

This habit will bring them in contact with the villagers who when the students actually go to stay in their midst, will by reason of the occasional previous contact receive them as friends rather than as strangers to be looked upon with suspicion. During their vacation the students will stay in the villages and offer to conduct classes for adults and to teach the rules of sanitation to the villagers and attend to the ordinary cases of illness. They will also introduce the spinning wheel amongst them and teach the use of every spare minute. In order that this may be done, students and teachers will have

to revise their ideas of the uses of vacation. Often do thoughtless teachers prescribe lessons to be done during the vacation. This is a vicious habit. Vacation is just the period when the students' minds should be free from the routine work and left free for self-help and original development."

The account of the activities of A.B.S.A. we have given before will show that the Association had already in many respects an identical programme in hand and in the years 1928 and 1929 and again in 1931 had tried to implement the programme in many areas with varying success. It was only the call of civil disobedience that compelled the Association to take to predominantly political activities. A students Volunteer corps (later named Students Militia) was formed in Calcutta and the districts. The efficiency of the units was demonstrated on the occasion of numerous meetings, processions, conferences and other activities undertaken by A.B.S.A. When the dead body of Jatindra Nath Das was brought to Calcutta (17 Sep. 1929) the volunteers of A.B.S.A. took a prominent part to regulate the procession from Howrah station through the roads of the city and to control the surging mass of humanity that thronged the streets to pay their tributes.

A Workers Training College established at Calcutta for some time imparted instructions in various subjects according to a syllabus specially drawn by a group of experts. Although the number of regular students was not large, the classes were held according to routine and those who attended were greatly benefited. The original programme to establish an institution on a permanent basis however was not realised due to subsequent political developments in the country.

Another notable institution established by A.B.S.A. was a Students Information Bureau which functioned for a long time. The Bureau was able to furnish useful information and help to students desirous of obtaining foreign education and at the same time established contacts with youth and students movement in other countries.

The Students Parliament also held many sessions. A largely attended symposium was held on 21-8-1929 on "Youth Movement" in which the principal speaker was Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. In another meeting of the study circle on 14-9-29 Dr. Dharendra Nath Sen read an important paper on "The

Problem of Minorities." A very interesting debate was held at Ashutosh Hall of the University at the next session of the Parliament on 21-9-29 on Harbilas Sarda's bill on the prevention of child marriage. Prof. Pramatha Nath Banerjee (later Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University) and Dr. Schlessinger of the Berlin Technische Hochschule (who was on a short visit to the city on his way to Tokyo World Engineering Congress) were enthusiastic participants in the debate. A meeting of students was held on 19-9-29 under the auspices of A.B.S.A. to give a hearty send off to Prof. S. Radhakrishnan who was due to leave for England to deliver the Hibbert Lectures and to take up the Professorship of Philosophy at Oxford.

## CHAPTER IV

About this time (August 1929) a wave of student unrest swept over the province. In some institutions prolonged general strikes resulted. We shall describe in some details the happenings in two of the foremost colleges at Calcutta to illustrate the attitude and frame of mind of some of our educationists which had direct bearing on the attitude of the students. On the 19th August evening, the boarders of Eden Hindu Hostel indulged in some innocent ragging amongst themselves. There were naturally some shoutings which the Anglo-Indian boarders of nearby Army Medical Hostel resented. There was a counter demonstration and boos and shoutings followed. There was however no actual physical conflict and there was hardly any damage to property and furniture. Compared to raggings in British universities, the demonstrations could be described as mere child's play. What were the reactions of our educational authorities? Next day the Principal of the college Mr. J. R. Borrow issued a peremptory order imposing a fine ranging from Rs. 82/- to Rs. 192/- on each of five wards of the hostel. About fifty students were expelled and were directed to vacate their seats by 6 P.M. the same day. On the night of the same day (20th August) Mr. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner with batches of constables were on guard throughout the night. What a tempest over a teapot? Nothing could better illustrate the psychology of some of the educationists of our times. We all passed through youthful ages and know by experience the exuberance of youthful energy. Some of our educationists appeared to have harboured the idea that Indian students were not entitled to youthful temperaments and feelings.

About the origin of trouble in the St. Xaviers College, we shall quote verbatim the report appearing in *Liberty* of 22nd August 1929.

"An unpleasant incident took place at St. Xaviers College on Tuesday, the 20th August. It seems the trouble started on the occasion of presentation of addresses to the Rector on the annual Rector's day. Two of the addresses were banned on

the ground that they contained outbursts of patriotism. At this students decided to abstain from taking part in the show and to remain passive watchers. But one student was induced by some of the Fathers to present an address. The students of his class were offended and tried to shout him down. At this one of the Fathers rushed to the scene and pushed the students right and left. Cries of 'Leave the Hall' were coming from some of the Fathers and the order came in a very rude manner. The students who took objection to this treatment left the Hall in a body. Those who lingered were prevented from coming out by the Anglo-Indian students of the Christian Hostel (evidently invited to the scene by one of the Fathers). Those Anglo-Indian students blocked the gates and treated the Indian students to kicks and blows without any provocation. The Indian students retaliated and there was a free fight. When the scene was cleared, one of the Fathers phoned to the police. The police were apparently sent for to terrorise Indian students. There was a proposal for a reconciliation on the Anglo-Indian students apologising but Father Rector blankly declined to entertain any such proposal. When one of the Indian students asked Father Rector whether kicks and blows are the awards and rewards of the College, Father Rector paid no heed to their words. He defended the Anglo-Indian students by saying that they were only the instruments of the college. It is reported that authorities intend to expel eight or ten students."

The students of both the institutions turned for help to the All-Bengal Students Association and help was readily offered. The Secretary and other members of the Executive approached the leading educationists and public men and took immediate steps to mobilise public opinion. Dr. B. C. Roy and Dr. Nilratan Sarker intervened in the dispute in the Presidency College and made certain proposals for bringing about a settlement. In the discussions, Dr. J. C. Ghose, the then D.P.I. and the Registrar of Calcutta University were present. The attitude of the Principal of the College was far from helpful. At the intervention of the Governing Body of the College, the Principal agreed to withdraw the order of expulsion on all but 18 students. It was further decided by the Governing Body that the Principal should hold enquiries into the conduct of

these 18 students and if it was found that they were not responsible for the disturbances, they also were to be taken back. The Principal however finally ordered 13 students to leave the hostel and the college. The students of the college immediately went on strike. There were minor clashes with a few loyal students who wanted to attend. There was again a proposal for compromise from the Principal but this was immediatey followed by threats as a result of which the discussions were not continued. The Eden Hindu Hostel had already been closed down and Dr. B. C. Roy arranged for temporary stay of the boarders in Calcutta until the settlement of the dispute. In the meanwhile, the situation at St. Xaviers college had also taken a grave turn. The Indian students of the college after the incidents of the Rector's day went on a strike. At a meeting held on 22-8-29 at Allen Gardens, they resolved not to continue their connections with the College if there was no honourable settlement. Certain terms for settlement were also offered. The gist was that those who were guilty should apologise and all should forgive and forget. The father Rector offered certain other terms. At a meeting held at Allen Gardens on 29-8-29 under the presidentship of Sir P. C. Ray, the Indian students rejected the terms offered and the strike therefore continued.

The A.B.S.A. made all possible efforts to arrive at a settlement. At the same time it called on other students of Calcutta to demonstrate their sympathy and solidarity with their brethren in these two colleges. A general strike of the students of Calcutta was called on the 5th September (1929). There was almost complete abstention in all colleges except at the Presidency college where some students attended. In the afternoon a big procession of students paraded the streets of Calcutta, in which many girl students participated. It was one of the biggest and the most impressive demonstration of dignified protest against some of our educational authorities. This procession has been prominently mentioned in the Administration Report of the province of Bengal, 1928-29.

In the evening, the students assembled at a meeting at Sraddhanand Park and resolutions were passed protesting against the attitude of the Principals of the two colleges. Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta presided.

No settlement was however possible in the Presidency College in spite of widespread public sympathy and eventually there was a mass exodus of students from the college.

In the case of St. Xaviers College, a meeting of the guardians was called on 3-9-29 and attended by amongst others Sir Nilratan Sarker, Sir P. C. Ray, Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr. B. C. Roy, Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Dr. Bamandas Mukherjee and Nandalal Puri. Another meeting was held on the 5th next. To this meeting, the father Rector of the college was also invited but the invitation was declined. A committee with following members was appointed to negotiate with the college authorities : Sir Nilratan Sarker, Dr. B. C. Roy, N. L. Puri, Dr. M. Ahmed, Dr. Santiram Chatterjee, Jogendra Nath Bose, Dr. Bamandas Mukherjee and Shyamaprasad Mukherjee. The last two were to act as secretaries of the committee. The names would reveal the measure of public support the students of the college and A.B.S.A. could mobilise.

Eventually, the committee arrived at a compromise which the students accepted although the terms were not all to their liking. The order of expulsion and rustication on some of the students was withdrawn by the father rector and they in their turn apologised for their behaviour on the Rectors day and were allowed to leave the college on transfer. A large number of students who did not like to continue in the college also left.

After the announcement of the terms of compromise, Dr. B. C. Roy issued a statement to the press and we close this unhappy chapter with following lines from this statement :

"I have been anxiously watching the course of events happening at the St. Xaviers college since the 28th August last. I had protested then against the double punishment, sought to be inflicted on the boys by the Father Rector. I and Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee made our position clear during the interview we had with the authorities in the evening of 27th August last. We had after discussion lasting for two hours agreed to come to this arrangement that the boys whom the authorities desired to remove from the college, should not be asked to offer any apology also. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to understand how a boy after he is rusticated or expelled from a college can have further dealings with the principal of that college. According to the university regula-

tions, such a boy can only apply to the Syndicate for the certificate of transfer. In this particular case, the Father Rector desired in any case to rusticate or expel the boys and then offered to give a transfer certificate on his giving an unqualified apology. The whole course suggested appeared to me to be absolutely unprecedented. And I also thought that an apology extracted from a boy for the purpose of humiliating him was quite unworthy of a Principal of a college.....  
..... a parent or guardian as have come to me during the fortnight to ask my advise regarding the continuance of his ward's or son's study in the college, I have always advised him that in view of the attitude taken by the authorities I would not recommend him to keep his ward or son in the college. The student in my opinion cannot get the full value of the instruction given to him unless the teacher is able to inspire in him that respect which should belong to every teacher in an institution. ....

The Father Rector of the St. Xaviers College having agreed to withdraw his former order of expulsion or rustication my attitude as to the advise I was to give to the students became quite clear. There is no doubt that during the Rectors Day celebrations, the students were partly responsible for the disturbances that were caused. It is difficult to say how far the provocation lay on one side or the other. But I know the responsibility for bringing to an end a trouble of this character lies more with those who are in power. In any case it became clear to me that students under the circumstances, as honourable men, should express their regret for their conduct on the Rectors Day celebrations. It is not for me to enquire whether there is any reciprocity on the part of the authorities to this attitude.

As I have stated above, this point of view I placed before the committee and the committee agreed with my views and tried to convince the boys of the correctness of the proposal put before them. As we were discussing with the boys one could see in the faces of the boys, full as they were of youthful enthusiasm and idealism, signs of the inward conflict to the adoption of the course proposed to them. I am proud of the boys as they agreed to act in a way which did not wholly commend to them."

## CHAPTER V

We now come to the second Annual Conference at Mymensingh and the tragedy that overtook the young association. The regrettable incidents and the split that followed not only affected the A.B.S.A. but in fact constituted a serious setback for the progress of the country and the province.

It is necessary to state briefly the background of Indian politics, particularly of Bengal at that time. Many groups and small parties functioned within the Congress with varying ideologies, policies and programme, the common objective being the achievement of Swaraj or national independence. It was also not unusual to have sharp difference of opinion in the top leadership of the Congress. Deshbhandhu widely differed from Gandhiji, but the Congress organisation was not split on that account. But the situation in Bengal was a little different. Secret societies for bringing about an armed revolution had been formed in Bengal early in the 20th century. Some of these societies had branches, or affiliates or sister organisations in other parts of India. A number of these revolutionary groups functioned in many parts of India. A comprehensive account of the saga of heroism of Indian revolutionaries and their grim struggle in the face of immense difficulties is yet to be written. The relations between the different revolutionary groups was not, however, very cordial always and group rivalries often dominated their workings in open forums, although they worked in close co-operation on many occasions. This moreover is not peculiar to Indian revolutionaries alone and such instances are common in other countries also in similar circumstances.

There were two main revolutionary groups functioning in Bengal along with other small sister organisations. The rivalry of these two groups—ANUSHILAN and JUGANTAR—was forcefully projected into the public life of the province. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was divided into two main factions formed principally around these two groups and for some time they contended for political dominance. In the political jargon of the times, every platform, every organisa-

tion had to be 'captured'. This accounted for many unhappy incidents. It is not for us to go into the reasons for these rivalries here. This should be a subject of critical study by our social psychologists. Suffice it to say that the A.B.S.A. had from the beginning tried to keep itself free from this group rivalry.

The Association had however among its ranks a large number of students who were directly or indirectly associated with one or other of the revolutionary groups. The executive of the association, however, consisted of mostly of members who were not attached to any of these revolutionary groups and it functioned as a composite team, although some at least had connections with one or other of these groups—Anushilan or Jugantar. But at no time the Working Committee and the Central Council had identified itself with any of these groups or pursued any policy inimical to the interest of any group.

We had, however, reports months before the conference that determined efforts would be made there to alter the composition of the executive. Needless to say, that these ends were not to be achieved by democratic methods, as it was demonstrated beyond doubt that the office bearers of the association enjoyed the confidence of the overwhelming majority of students of Bengal, and the Working Committee was of one mind and functioned as a team under all stress and strain. We had observed previously that there was an informal agreement among the members of the Central Council that some one from outside the province should generally be invited to preside over or inaugurate our annual gatherings. Bengal had a large Muslim population, but not many Muslim students joined the movement. This attracted notice and at the time of the first conference it was the subject of press comments. The district associations therefore favoured a Nationalist Muslim to preside over the Mymensingh conference, and the majority of them nominated Dr. Muhammad Alam of the Punjab as the president. Contrary to the provisions of the constitution, the Reception Committee at Mymensingh invited Sri Subhas Chandra Bose to preside over the conference. A delicate situation was forced on the Working Committee as Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was associated with the movement from the beginning and was one of our best well-wishers. He,

however, declined the invitation. Thereafter the Reception Committee invited Dr. Alam to preside over the conference, but the relations between the Working Committee at Calcutta and the Reception Committee of the conference was anything but cordial.

The conference opened on the 30th September, 1929. The Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. Alam delivered their addresses. (Newspaper reports of the speeches are published in the Appendix). Sri Purna Chandra Das hoisted the National Flag and a number of non-controversial resolutions were passed. The real trouble came on the second day of the conference. A resolution was moved for appointment of a committee to draw up a fresh constitution of the A.B.S.A. A number of delegates also wanted to move a vote of no-confidence on the Working Committee. Outsiders, who were not students, were prominent in the demonstrations. The President got sense of the true situation and dissolved the conference.

The dissidents, however, elected a committee which tried for some time to function as the Executive of the All-Bengal Students Association, but as the move found little public favour or recognition and as, almost all the district associations declined to have anything to do with them, they changed their tactics. They then called a meeting of their own at Calcutta and formed a separate organisation called the Bengal Presidency Students Association. The student movement in the province remained tragically divided for some time to come. The moral confusion was really of greater consequence than the physical division of the student community into two groups, and the plans of the Executive of the A.B.S.A. to extend its activities significantly amongst Muslim students so that they might share a common revolutionary experience were completely frustrated.

At this distance of time we cannot but deplore the unfortunate developments which split the movement. Without trying to apportion any blame to this group or that, we must put it on record that the independent policy which the A.B.S.A. had been following was the correct one and had produced excellent results. With these few words, we pass by the acrimonious debates, the press statements and the organisational rivalries that followed the division of the student movement in Bengal.

Due to the premature dissolution of the Mymensingh conference the election of the new Executive could not be held there. The Annual General meeting of the Central Council was, therefore, called at Calcutta on November, 24, 1929. Sri Promode Kumar Ghoshal presided. There was an agreed understanding that we should have a new president every year. Sri Promode Kumar Ghoshal retired and in his place Sri Sachindra Nath Mitra was elected President. Birendra Nath Das Gupta was, however, re-elected General Secretary. Other office bearers were :

*Vice-Presidents :*

1. Krishna Kumar Chatterji
2. Tushar Kumar Chatterji

*Asst. Secretaries :*

1. Hemanta Kumar Bal
2. Chunilal Bose (upto February 1930)
3. Narayan Chandra Lahiri (from June 1930).
4. Naresh Chandra Shome.
5. Rabindra Lal Sinha (upto June 1930).
6. Uttar Kumar Dhar (from February 1930).

*Treasurer : Ajit Kumar Dutt.*

There were ample signs that the A.B.S.A. very soon recovered from the shock of dissensions within the students movement and settled down to its normal work in spite of all that had happened or all that was still happening. As a matter of fact the dignity and courage with which the A.B.S.A. had resisted the pressure of the dominant group of the B.P.C.C, attracted a large number of students within its fold who had till then for various reasons remained aloof. The internal soundness of the organisation was demonstrated beyond doubt. The Students Day (3rd Feb., 1930) saw a new journalistic venture by the A.B.S.A. The "India Tomorrow" a fortnightly journal in English went into publication, under the joint editorship of Promode Kumar Ghoshal and Amarendra Nath Roy. It catered to the needs of the students of the country during the

next few years with of course, intervals of suppression. The Bengali journal "Chatra" started in 1928, continued its publications with great success under the editorship of Shri Sushil Dev and after his arrest Sri Ajit Kumar Dutt and Sri Girija Mukherjee took over the editorship. The actual celebrations of Students Day were however put off till the ninth February next. Early in the morning a procession of students paraded the streets of Calcutta. At 8 A.M. hundreds of volunteers of A.B.S.A. spread over the city bearing the message of the student movement. A novel way of making propaganda was introduced, leaflets being distributed by balloons and rockets.

In the evening, Sir C. V. Raman the eminent scientist delivered the Annual Address before a mammoth gathering of students in the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University. The following report is reproduced from the Amrita Bazar Patrika (12-2-1930).

"Sir C. V. Raman addressing the students at Senate Hall on Students Day organised by A.B.S.A. said, 'Students all over the world are awakening to the sense of their responsibilities, duties and rights in the body politic of a nation and it was not too early that the students of India got the infection. They were smarting under the present system of education which they were feeling to be utterly inadequate to make them capable to fight out their way in the world. While it was undermining their health and sapping their energy, they were getting nothing more than the limited knowledge of some carefully selected text books. The student movement is really an expression of the hunger for more knowledge, an endeavour to travel beyond the text books. It is a creative movement and aims at rejuvenating India out of its present putrescent state. India at present is a politically, culturally and economically subjugated country and its social construction, as it is, is based upon an utterly unscientific basis. It is the ambition of the promoters of the student movement (if I am permitted to quote a great thinker of India) "to create a vigorous, energetic, radical minded youthful intelligentia which will bring about the desired transformation". Students movement aspires to create a new India—a modern India free from the moral stupor under which she is suffering . . . . This new consciousness found its way out and took a concrete shape. The students

all over India felt a new urge to action, a new inspiration to wear themselves away from mid-Victorian ideologies and catch up the time spirit".

The celebrations ended in the evening with an interesting programme of demonstrations of physical feats. The Students Day was also celebrated with equal enthusiasm in the districts.

Attempts were made to widen the base of the student movement and to form an All-India students organisation. A resolution was passed at the All Bengal Students Conference at Calcutta in 1928, empowering the Executive to take steps for the formation of an All-India students organisation. Contacts were made with students of other provinces and at the request of the A.B.S.A. the Punjab Students Union invited a convention of representatives from various students' organisations at Lahore at the time of the annual session of the Indian National Congress. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presided over that convention. It was decided to form an All-India Students Federation and a further meeting was proposed to be held in April or May, 1930. This meeting could not, however, be called due to the mass struggle initiated by Gandhiji in which thousands of students participated and shared persecution with their elders. It was only on the occasion of the Karachi session of the Congress in 1931 that another meeting of the representatives of the provincial students' organisations could take place.

## PART TWO

### THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

#### CHAPTER SIX

We have already referred to the session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in December 1928 and the most important issue before it. Hitherto the accepted goal was Dominion Status within the framework of the British Empire but a considerable section wanted to substitute complete independence as the country's immediate political aim. It is true that an earlier session of the Congress at Madras had defined the country's aim as independence—rather vaguely no doubt—but later on the All India Congress Committee had accepted a Dominion constitution framed by an All-Parties Committee under the Chairmanship of Pt. Motilal Nehru. However, the younger section led by Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru considered that unless the British connection was severed, there could be no real freedom for India. On the other hand, Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, wanted to retain Dominion Status as the country's aim as set forth in the All Party Committee's Report. There was however great restlessness amongst industrial labour not only for better wages and conditions of living but also for radical orientation of political strategy and to the youth of the country only complete independence was the acceptable goal. There was keen difference of opinion and at one time a split in the Congress appeared unavoidable. However, a compromise resolution framed by Gandhiji was passed although this even was opposed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose in the open session. Dominion Status was accepted as the goal but if this was not granted on the basis of the constitution framed by the All Parties Conference on or before 31st December 1929, the Congress would declare complete independence as its aim and would launch a programme of civil disobedience to achieve it. Subsequent events forged a greater measure of unity in Congress ranks. The next session of the Congress at Lahore, as the British Government failed to respond, adopted

a resolution advocating complete independence as the immediate goal of the country amidst scenes of great enthusiasm just as midnight 31st December, 1929 passed.

After this historic Lahore session, the noble drama of the struggle for political freedom unfolded in full glory. The 26th of January (1930) was celebrated with great enthusiasm as Independence Day. A pledge of independence was taken in mass meetings throughout the country. Thereafter the scenes moved rapidly. With the start of Gandhiji's historic march to Dandee on the 12th of March, the drama entered into a more moving act. The daily developments were watched with great interest by all sections of the people. This long march to the sea was symbolic of the arduous march of India's millions for political freedom. Gandhiji reached the sea and broke the Salt Law on the 6th April, 1930, and thereafter hundreds and thousands broke the law all over the country. It is difficult to reproduce in words the wave of enthusiasm that swept over the country, the idealism that inspired the people, the aura of faith that surrounded them. There were sceptics, there were dissidents, there were certainly many allies of the British but the vast majority of the people of India looked to the Civil Disobedience Movement under Gandhiji's lead for deliverance from foreign domination and economic strangulation. We can now realise how inadequate the preliminary preparations were. It is of great significance that in spite of such unpreparedness, the people responded with magnificent enthusiasm and how often in the face of great provocation, how in spite of terrible suffering and repression, the people maintained discipline and generally were true to the spirit of satyagraha. Truly it has been said by Rabindranath Tagore: "At Gandhi's call India blossomed forth to new greatness."

As old and known leaders of the Congress were removed, new leaders were thrown up from amongst the rank and file. Civil Disobedience first took the form of defiance of Salt Law, boycott of foreign goods, wines and narcotics and in certain selected areas, refusal to pay taxes and rents. The Government promulgated a large number of ordinances and issued numerous prohibitory orders and gagged the press. Defiance of such ordinances and orders ultimately became the easiest way to offer civil disobedience.

The students of Bengal naturally were carried away from the normal life by this tide of enthusiasm. At a meeting of the Central Council of the A.B.S.A., it was decided that the student community must join the movement and should be ready for extreme sacrifice. The Council then formed a special committee to watch the movement and to prepare the students. The members of the committee were : Sachindra Nath Mitra, Birendra nath Das Gupta, Anil Guha, Girija Mukherjee, Uttar Kumar Dhar, (Secretary of the committee), Bibhuti Ghose, Satish Ghose, Amar Roy and Ajit Dutta. (Amrita Bazar Patrika, 18.3.30)

The Indian National Congress had long observed as a National Week the period 6th—13th April every year in remembrance of the massacre at Jallianwalabag. This year the National week assumed a special significance. In accordance with the decision of the Working Committee of Congress, Civil Disobedience Movement was to begin from the 6th of April. The Executive of the AB.S.A. on the advise of the Special Committee, decided to call a convention of the students of Bengal to decide on the course of action. This convention was held on the 6th April (1930) at Albert Hall, Calcutta. Sj. J.M. Sen Gupta, Mayor of Calcutta presided. Enthusiasm among students ran very high. The "INDIA TOMORROW" came out with Gandhiji's special message to students.

"Every revolution in modern times had found the students in the forefront. This because it is peaceful ought not to have less attractions for that."

Over seven hundreds delegates from all the districts of Bengal attended the Convention. There was a tremendous rush of visitors but admission had to be restricted for want of space. Sj Sen Gupta's address is printed in the Appendix.

Sj. Santosh Kumar Bagchi, a member of Rajshahi District Students Association (A.B.S.A.) who had joined the first batch of salt satyagrahis at Mahishbathan on the Salt Lakes near Calcutta arrived at Albert Hall while the convention was in progress, with a small parcel of salt prepared in violation of the salt law. He was welcomed by demonstrations of unforgettable enthusiasm. This bit of salt was put up for auction

amongst the students present and was secured by the students of National Medical Institute for Rupees One hundred only.

The following resolution was unanimously passed :

"This convention is of opinion that the Civil Disobedience Movement started by Mahatmaji has assumed such a character as to require the students to participate in it in large numbers not only by enlisting themselves as volunteers but also by taking up propaganda work on behalf of the Civil Disobedience Movement, by actively working for the boycott of British goods, by collecting funds if necessary for furtherance of the movement in the way laid down from time to time by the National Congress and by adopting other means which might help the movement without coming into actual conflict with the programme laid down by the National Congress."

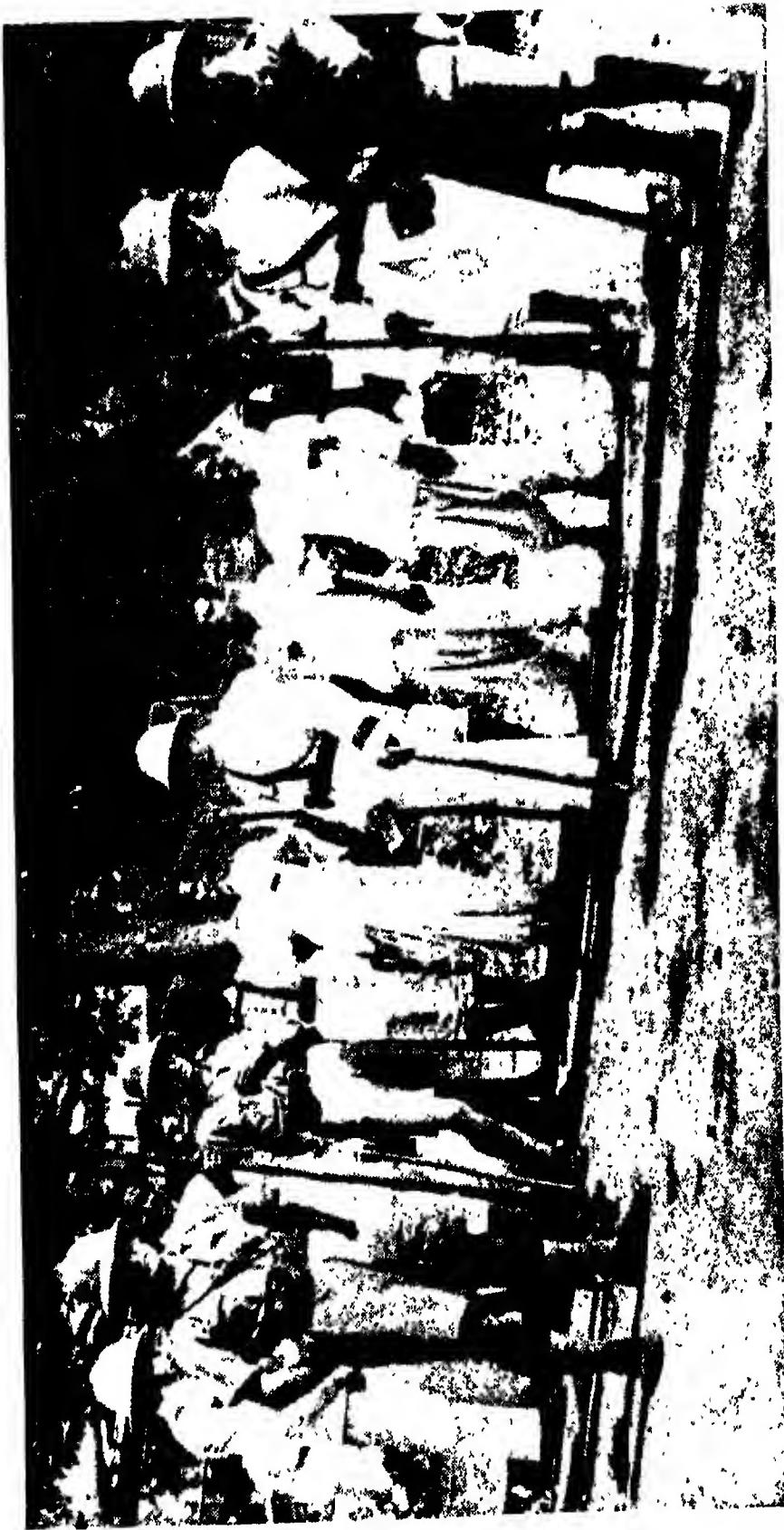
It is noticeable that the Convention did not adopt a resolution for general suspension of study but the A.B.S.A. was only asked to help the Civil Disobedience Movement in all possible ways. As a matter of fact, we wired subsequently to Gandhiji on the 11th April next seeking advise on this point. A telegram was received by the Secretary of the A.B.S.A. in reply as under :

"YOUR WIRE. STRIKE USELESS. VOLUNTARY BOYCOTT OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES ADVISABLE AND NECESSARY. NO COMPULSION PERMISSIBLE."

The resolution of the Convention in fact did not go even as far as that and at the same time foreshadowed the possibility of some independent line of action. This certainly indicated a growing sense of maturity and self-confidence amongst the students of Bengal.

It was alleged that the dominant faction in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had apparently taken only a lukewarm interest in the Civil Disobedience movement. The dissidents—the so called Sen Gupta faction—and many unattached members therefore formed a separate organisation "BANGIYA AIN AMANYA PARISHAD" (Bengal Civil Disobedience Council) to work whole-heartedly the programme laid down by Gandhiji and the Working Committee of the Congress. Sj. Promode Kumar Ghoshal represented the A.B.S.A. in the Executive committee of this new organisation.

A B.S.A. SATYAGRAHIS AFTER ARREST ON 12-4-30 AT CORNWALLIS SQUARE,  
WITH J. M. SEN GUPTA



L. to R.: Bibhuti Gupta Bhaya, Prasun Ghose, Santosh Chatterjee



Sj. Ghoshal was within a short time arrested with other members of the Council and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

The A.B.S.A. in conformity with the resolution of the Convention of the 6th April enlisted volunteers who were trained at Sodepur Ashram and placed at the disposal of the Civil Disobedience Council.

Many students including some office-bearers of the Association, however, wanted to go further afield and follow an independent line of action. With the consent of the Working Committee of the A.B.S.A., they formed a Student's Civil Disobedience Council and also joined hands with a group of our former members who were no longer students to form a new organisation, the Bengal Militia, to break the law of sedition in open meetings. This, according to some exceeded the mandate given by Gandhiji\*. The first meeting to flout the law of sedition was held at College Square in the evening of 11th April, 1930. There was a large gathering which overflowed into the streets around and police preparations were also on a big scale. Sj. Sachindra Nath Mitra, President of the A.B.S.A., presided over the meeting. Some members of the B.P.S.A. with its president Sj. Abinash Chandra Bhattacharya, also joined the demonstration. Sj. Sachindra Nath Mitra began to read extracts from Ananda Bazar Patrika, Special Congress Number which had been earlier proscribed by the Government. Immediately, the European police officer in charge (Deputy

\* It may however be noted here that a similar programme of defiance of the law of sedition was adopted by Gandhiji as part of his campaign to fight the notorious Rowlatt Acts, in 1919. We may also quote the following lines from his momentous speech on the eve of his march to Dandee. After giving some details as to the way *satyagraha* was to be offered against salt laws in the event of his arrest, he said : "We are however not to be content with this alone. There is no bar by the Congress and wherever the local workers have self-confidence, other suitable measures may be adopted. I prescribe only one condition, namely, let our pledge of truth and non-violence as the only means for the attainment of Swaraj be faithfully kept. For the rest every one has a free hand".

The resolution of the Working committee of the Congress (confirmed by A.I.C.C. on 21.3.30.) on civil disobedience however recommended the breaking of salt laws to be undertaken first and other forms of *satyagraha* were reserved for the second stage.

Commissioner, North) declared the meeting unlawful.\* Sj. Mitra was arrested along with 34 other satyagrahis present and the police made a violent *lathi* charge to disperse the assembly. All the time the satyagrahis as well as the people who had assembled were perfectly peaceful. The police action was however indiscriminate and many innocent passers by suffered. About 15 persons including a girl of 7 years were seriously injured. These developments made a deep impression in the city and Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mayor of Calcutta and a member of the Congress Working Committee was greatly moved. The same evening, he issued the following statement :

"For months past the Government are prosecuting prominent Congressmen and workers for sedition and other allied offences and sending them to long terms of imprisonment. And I have been advocating that the only answer to this policy of the Government is for the Congress to organise public meetings in which seditious speeches should be made or literature sold. I was extremely pleased and encouraged to find that what we failed to accomplish, the students of Calcutta were prepared to do. And when I realised that they were imbued with the true spirit of the Congress and of satyagraha, I gladly sent a message to to-night's meeting. The results are extremely satisfactory. On our side, the students by their patience and fortitude proved to the world that it is possible to remain non-violent while they were being dragged and seriously assaulted by the police. On the other side, we hope that the officers of the Government and particularly the Indians, feel ashamed of the part that they played in the evening's affair. Not only did they assault the actual men who were violating the present law of sedition but they went out of their way to assault innocent people who were standing by the place of the meeting and passing along the streets. That the Indian police officers were ashamed of their conduct was clear from the fact that they hesitated to behave in a cruel manner and it was left to men who did not belong to India to commit the more atrocious acts of violence.

Several men were arrested and many were wounded by the police. We do not grieve for the arrests or for the suffering of the people for we believe, in to-night's affair, the Government

had lost and we have won. And I have no doubt that the lead that the students of Calcutta have given to-night will be followed by men of all ages throughout the province of Bengal. The ultimate victory is ours provided in similar demonstrations from day to day we stick to the principles of non-violence."

He also contacted the workers of the A.B.S.A. and offered to join the meeting due to be held the next day, to break the law of sedition. It was decided by the Bengal Militia that all activities in connection with the anti-sedition law movement would hereafter be entirely guided by the Working Committee of the A.B.S.A. Before a vast gathering at Cornwallis Square, (now Azad Hind Bagh) on 12-4-1930, Shri Sen Gupta and a batch of members of the A.B.S.A. read seditious literature one after another and were forthwith arrested. All of them as well as those arrested the previous day were tried and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment.

Workers of A.B.S.A. who were imprisoned in this connection were :

First day : Sachin Mitra, Sreepada Majumder, Durgapada Dasgupta, Sisir Bauerji, Nalini Ranjan Kar. Abinash Ch. Bhattacharyya of B.P.S.A. was also imprisoned in the same connection.

Second Day : Santosh Chatterji, Prasun Ghosh, Bibhuti Bhisan Gupta Bhaya and Suraj Kissen.

These developments coincided with the programme of work laid down by the Congress for the National Week. On the 12th and 13th April, the students of Calcutta came out of their classes and marched along the streets demonstrating their indignation against police atrocities on innocent persons and expressing approval of the line of action taken by the student satyagrahis. The news of the happenings at Calcutta had immediate effect on the districts. A very large meeting was held at Dacca jointly under the Dacca district branches of A.B.S.A. and B.P.S.A. at Coronation Park on the 16th April (1930) where seditious literature was openly read. It was estimated that 20,000 people attended the meeting. Sj. Nripendra Chakraborty of A.B.S.A. presided. Seven students were arrested for reading seditious literature.

Another such meeting was held at Dacca on the 19th next. The movement spread to other districts and meetings in defiance

of the law of sedition continued to be held in the parks of Calcutta for a number of days. Many arrests were made. Thereafter for some time seditious and proscribed literature was readily available and read openly in Calcutta and the districts. The movement for the ceremonious defiance of the law of sedition in open meetings was however discontinued soon on the advise of some of the leaders of the National Congress.

The Civil Disobedience Movement started by Gandhiji continued with mounting enthusiasm for a few months throughout India. In some parts of the country, the British Government ceased to be effective for some time. The Government tried to halt the movement by acts of indiscriminate repression, often in the worst traditions of Jallianwallabagh massacre. In one instance, on the 24th April, 1930, more than 200, perhaps 300, persons were killed in Peshawar. The methods were so barbaric that some Indian soldiers of a regiment of Garhwal rifles refused to obey the orders of the commanding officer to resort to further shooting of unarmed and peaceful demonstrators. The heroic deed of the soldiers had a dramatic effect on the people. The British army and the police had to withdraw from Peshawar and the city was in the hands of the people from April 25th to May 4th.

The district of Midnapore in Bengal had also an unique record in this respect. These acts of glory were repeated in 1932-33 and in 1942. The sustained record of courage, discipline, and sacrifice of the people of Midnapore has few parallels in recent Indian history. The first batch of *satyagrahis* raised by A.B.S.A. was sent, after training at Sodepur Ashram, to Midnapore under the leadership of Sj. Harasundar Chakraborty. They took to the manufacture of salt in defiance of law in the villages near Contai under the guidance of Abhoy Ashram. They were often subjected to inhuman physical tortures by the police. At times they were arrested and left without food ; on other occasions the cottages where they lived were set fire to and all their clothes and belongings burnt. On one occasion all their clothes were taken away and they were left absolutely naked. But the atrocities to which the villagers including women, were subjected to, are indescribable. These reports soon reached Calcutta. The Press was under gag but even the little that

came out caused widespread indignation. An enquiry committee led by Sj. Prafulla Chandra Sen (now Chief Minister, West Bengal) went to Midnapore but all the members were immediately arrested. Subsequently a committee headed by Sj. J. N. Basu of the Indian Liberal Party went to Midnapore and carried on limited investigations there at a number of places. Their report corroborated the allegations of indiscriminate repression and the abominable practices taken recourse to by the police. This report however was not allowed to be published in the Press. "India Tomorrow", the English journal of the A.B.S.A., in defiance of the Government's orders published extensive extracts from the report under the caption : "A Present To Our British Sisters", in its issue of the 15th July, 1930. This is reproduced below :

#### A PRESENT TO OUR BRITISH SISTERS

"In the last two issues of our journal we made some comments regarding police outrages on women. A British lady who prefers to remain un-named has written to us in reply that our remarks were not at all justified and has challenged us to produce authoritative evidence in support of such allegations. It is our deliberate opinion that after all it is now superfluous to produce evidence in support of an established fact which has been substantiated by evidences from various sources. But in deference to her, we would like to make our British sisters the present of a few extracts from the report of the Contai Enquiry Committee. The Committee was composed of Mr. J. N. Basu M.L.C. Chairman, Mr. Kshitish Ch. Neogi, M.L.A., Mr. Akhil Ch. Dutt, Mr. B. N. Sasinal, Dr. J. N. Maitra, Mr. P. Banerji, Mr. Wahed Hossain and Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen. Mr. K. C. Neogi and Prof. Sen were secretaries of the Committee. The Committee therefore consisted not of Congress leaders but the majority of them were proved moderates and all of them were men of unquestionable fairness and integrity.

#### EXTRACTS

##### A. *Assaults on women.*

(1) . . . . An elderly woman named Surpa also showed her arm which had been severely injured causing bleeding and

swelling. . . The members next visited the house close by where they found a girl of 18 years old in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Her name was Ambu. She was breathing with difficulty. Her eyes were closed with tears. She made her statement with difficulty. She complained of her breasts being twisted and of her being kicked on the hip.

Regarding this very case the Committee remark later on—"It is surprising that a case like this should have happened with a Magistrate accompanying the police party. The girl was not physically capable of creating such trouble as might lead to her being assaulted. She had also no time to concoct a story as the members arrived at her house soon after the police left her house".

(2) "On the 26th May, 1930, some of the members visited the village of Kholakhali at about 8-50 A.M. A large number of persons offered themselves for examination. Seven female witnesses were examined, some of whom still bore marks of injury on their persons. All of them complained of severe assault by canes, fists and kicks. They also said that the clothes of some of them had been torn off their bodies and they produced some such clothes. A middle aged widow Kurani Dasi stated that she had been so roughly handled and pulled about that she had fainted."

#### *B. Damage or destruction or removal of property:—*

"The police and excise officers have the right to make house searches under certain specific circumstances. From what the visiting members saw with their own eyes, they found that in the cases in which the police and other officials had entered the houses of the villagers, there was no circumstance which could lead to a house search.

If the entry into the houses was meant for the purposes of search, it was strange that such entry was not peaceful and was followed not by a lawful search, but by the destruction of property and beating of the inmates. There appeared to be no justification for such violence and interference with elementary personal rights.

The Committee do not see any justification for the breaking up of the pots and pans, the destruction of domestic stores and

food-stuffs, the smashing of vegetables and the scattering about of grain at the houses of villagers. They fail to see how the smashing of conch bangles, the making of which is a local industry, or the pulling down of thatch from the roof of huts could have been of any use.

There were also several complaints of loss of small cash which the villagers keep in their houses. One wealthy villager complained missing as much as Rs. 1307. About ten of the witnesses complained of loss of gold and silver ornaments from their houses after the police had entered them and had destroyed or damaged their belongings. The causing of damage to and destruction of property was fairly general in some of the areas visited by the committee. If the object was to terrorise the villagers, the method adopted could not and did not succeed. As regards the shooting at Protapdighi on the 1st June, 1930, the police had prior to shooting raided some houses in three or four villages one after another and had damaged or destroyed property in those houses. Having regard to the value the villagers set on their small belongings and the great labour they had to undergo to earn the same, it can easily be understood as to what exasperation they feel when they see that those belongings were destroyed, damaged or taken away. The incident at Protapdighi is unfortunate but the acts of the police probably created a situation to meet which resort was had to shooting men, who had no arms and not even stone and brickbats to use as missiles. It should be remembered that the villagers are ordinarily of a peaceful disposition.

#### *C. Attempt to obstruct enquiry.*

The details as to the itinerary of the visiting members have been given in order to show the work that was done by them on the morning of the 24th May, 1930 and the difficulties encountered by them in prosecuting the enquiry and recording evidence. The villagers were willing to place evidence before the members. But the local officers were reluctant that the visiting members should see more than what they had seen or hear more than they had heard. Though at the request of the members, the persons engaged in the manufacture of salt near Pichhaboni pit suspended their activities in order to enable the

members to obtain direct information about the conduct of the local officials and the police towards the inhabitants of the villages, the officials were anxious that the members should not proceed with the enquiry. A local enquiry at that stage would have been of great help in ascertaining facts, as the assaults and raids were said to have been committed within the previous hours or thereabouts and there would have been no difficulty in ascertaining the nature and extent of the injury said to have been inflicted on the villagers.

The Committee were surprised that anxiety should have been shown by the local officials for stopping a local enquiry at a time when the events had only recently happened. The presence of the visiting members led for the time being to the discontinuance of manufacture of salt. There was no ground for the unfounded statement of the Sub-Divisional Officer that the visiting members were inciting the men of the locality. They recorded statements, observed wounds and inspected damage to the property. They succeeded in dispersing a gathering of people, in order that the enquiry might proceed in calm and judicial atmosphere. They acted with forbearance when obstructed by local officials. But though the local officials found that the presence and attitude of the visiting members led to the atmosphere becoming peaceful, with the absence of all incitement to violence, yet they tried to stifle the enquiry in the locality where evidence tendered by the villagers against the local officials and the police was fresh and the physical signs had not been obliterated. The Committee regret to notice such want of administrative sense and executive capacity in the local officials concerned.

#### *Last of all the Committee Remark*

The villagers who mostly suffered from the oppression and who were examined by the visiting members of the committee were not guilty of any violence. Some of them were engaged in the manufacture of salt but they did not offer any violence and were prepared to suffer the consequences of their action. The local officials appeared to forget what law was and what their duty was under the law. They suffered acts to be done <sup>u</sup> which were in breach of law and the elementary rights of

individuals. The conduct of the local officials has led to widespread embitterment of feeling".

Gandhiji in his letter to the Viceroy dated 1st May, 1930 referred to some of these atrocities : "In Bengal, there seem to have been only a few prosecutions and assaults about salt but unthinkable cruelties are said to have been practised in the act of snatching flags from the volunteers. Paddy fields are reported to have been burnt, eatables forcibly taken away."

The next issue of "India Tomorrow" came out with detailed reports of police atrocities on Calcutta students with a large number of photographs. Soon after both India Tomorrow and *Chhatra* were suppressed by Government orders.

The overall situation in the country was rapidly moving towards a crisis. Soon it became apparent to the Executive of A.B.S.A. that the opinion of the general body of students on the future course of action should again be sought. The Executive had it on the authority of a member of the Congress Working Committee that Congress would soon call upon the students to leave their studies for national service as a time had come to make the final effort to bring the movement to a successful conclusion before the end of the year. As a matter of fact students all over the province were getting restless to take up a bolder and more comprehensive programme of work. The students of College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur (run by the National Council of Education) seem to have taken a lead in this connection. In May 1930 they submitted to the authorities that theirs is a national institution and in this national emergency, the classes should be suspended to enable students to take part in the fight for freedom. As the authorities did not immediately agree there was a brief strike but ultimately the institution was closed indefinitely.

A second Convention was therefore called. A meeting of the Central Council of the A.B.S.A. held on 28/6/30 recommended a general suspension of studies. The Convention was held at Albert Hall on the 1st July, 1930 under the Presidentship of Sja. Basanti Devi (Mrs. C. R. Das). A resolution calling upon all students to suspend their studies and devote themselves to national service was passed almost unanimously. Amongst those who were present as visitors were Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and Acharya Sri P. C. Ray, who came in for

adverse comments in then British owned newspaper of the city, The Statesman, as both of them were closely associated with the University of Calcutta. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Urquhart, with whom we had very cordial relations, issued a statement deprecating the steps we had taken. We respectfully replied to him but re-iterated our stand. Sja. Basanti Devi also issued a statement in defence of the course of action decided at the Convention. A few days later Dr. B. C. Roy resigned his office as Fellow of the Calcutta University. "I cannot be a party to the Vice-Chancellor's unusual and unprecedented communication to the students", he said.

All the while, however, batches of satyagrahis were working actively in various districts. A large number of them had been arrested. Soon it became possible to reinforce them. For further details we would refer the readers to the Annual Report of the A.B.S.A. (October 1929-March 1931) printed in the Appendix. One great task for the Association was to implement the resolution on suspension of studies fully. It soon became necessary to arrange peaceful picketing before some institutions. Earlier a meeting of some of the Principals of Calcutta Colleges decided that colleges should remain open. From now on A.B.S.A. and B.P.S.A. worked together for some time. A joint committee of action was formed which functioned under the guidance of Sja. Basanti Devi. Meetings were held every evening at her place after the days work. These were really stormy days for us. In the initial stages there was brisk picketing of many schools and colleges throughout the province. In Calcutta, most schools and colleges were empty very soon. The Preliminary Law examinations were abandoned due to vigorous picketing both at Calcutta and Gauhati. The University authorities at Calcutta and Dacca decided to postpone all examinations till November. Picketing thereafter mainly centred around the Presidency and Bethune colleges. At the Presidency College, it appears, the Government took up our challenge with all their forces from the 14th of July, 1930. and there was veritable trial of strength between the police and the students. For days, wave after wave of student workers defied police cordons and *lathi* charges and took their place inside for the purpose of peaceful persuasion. In spite of all sorts of provocation, there was hardly any violence by students

although most of the workers were teen-age enthusiasts. At the same time, the campaign for the boycott of British goods was also pursued very vigorously. During the fifteen days that followed, hundreds of our workers were arrested or subjected to severe beatings. The developments created a profound impression on students throughout the province. They everywhere responded with equal enthusiasm and were subjected to same trials and sufferings. Special mention may be made of the assaults and other atrocities at Chittagong and on student workers before Howrah Zillah school. At Dacca, a student, Sj. Ajit Bhattacharya, was beaten to death within the University premises.

The schools and colleges were mostly closed or running with much reduced strength and the students of Bengal carried the brunt of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the province for some time. The importance the Government gave to these activities of the students is indicated in the brief weekly reports which the Secretary of State for India submitted to the British Parliament during these troubled times. These activities of Bengal students are particularly mentioned in the reports for the weeks ending 19th July, 26th July, 2nd August, 9th August, and 23rd August, 1930. For example, the following passage is quoted from the report for the week ending July 26, 1930 : "There was definite decline in the Civil Disobedience in Bengal and also in Bihar and Orissa, Assam and Delhi but in Bengal student activity may give fresh encouragement."\* The purpose for which a general suspension of studies was decided upon was in effect achieved. In view of the situation, picketing before educational institutions was thereafter discontinued on the advise of Sja. Basanti Devi.

In Calcutta, the boycott of British goods and furtherance of the movement for the exclusive use of Swadeshi (indegenously produced) goods, now became the main programme of work of A.B.S.A. In the districts, particularly the rural centres, work was of a more varied nature. In addition we had taken up a comprehensive programme of propaganda for furtherance of civil disobedience. We illegally printed thousands of leaflets in various Indian languages and in English

\* Times (London), 29th July, 1930.

for distribution throughout the country. Many of these were notified as proscribed literature in due course. Picketing was now principally directed against trade in British goods and wines and narcotics. In Calcutta, the wholesale cloth market at Burrabazar became one of the chief centres of our activities. From April onwards, the office of the A.B.S.A. was subjected to periodical raids by the police. One by one, most of the office bearers and members of Executive were under arrest. Sj. Girija Mukherji acted as President of the Association after the arrest of Sj. Sachindranath Mitra in April. Sj. Birendranath Dasgupta was arrested on the 28th June and detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. Sj. Sudhangsu Bose acted in his place until the new elections in March, 1931. By the end of July, only six of the original 19 members of the Working Committee of the Association remained outside jail. The course of events was however foreseen and adequate arrangements made. There was no break in continuity of the policy laid down or in its execution. The Working Committee had appointed an officer-in-charge or dictator who was the nominal head of the Association and supposed to be invested with full powers to direct its affairs. He was empowered to name his successor in the event of arrest. Each dictator, however, functioned only for a short time as arrests followed very quickly. The real direction of the movement lay with a group of the members of the Working Committee who were out of jail and a number of other active workers. Decisions were arrived at rather by informal consultations than by formal resolutions. Meetings had often to be held in secret. On the 28th July, 1930, the office of the A.B.S.A. was raided by the police and every thing was taken away. Subsequently, the premises were occupied by the police. For months thereafter, we could not find any place for our office due to the opposition of the police.

We have at this stage to refer to certain aspects of political life peculiar to Bengal. Here many political workers had a divided loyalty. The members of various revolutionary groups who occupied controlling positions in many District Congress Committees saw in the civil disobedience movement an opportunity to make the struggle for independence more broad-based and actively took part in the movement. Apart from that, the

Swadeshi Movement had left a deep impress on the public life of the province. The spiritual foundations of the Swadeshi Movement were fundamentally different from the sources of Gandhian philosophy. Many active workers, other than the revolutionaries, also joined the movement with considerable mental reservations. The greatest challenge to Gandhism and Gandhi's leadership often came from Bengal. All the same, both non-co-operation movement of 1920-22 and the civil disobedience movement of 1930-33 took deep roots and attained considerable success in the province. In due course, Gandhism claimed many true converts. Many active workers of the student movement plunged deeply into the whirl-pool of political activities of the times. Individually, each of us reacted in a different way. For a time, we all shared in a common experience but eventually many of us drifted to different political camps. As a matter of fact, many workers of the student movement were connected with the various revolutionary groups intimately. So long, however, the civil disobedience movement was on, there was, broadly speaking, acceptance of the technique laid down by Gandhiji and the discipline demanded. Considering the vast scale of operations and the large number of persons involved, the incidents of violence in connection with the civil disobedience movement were few indeed. The methods, however, were not always strictly in conformity with Gandhiji's ideas in details. Secret planning and a controlling inner group were distinct features of the A.B.S.A. in connection with the civil disobedience movement.

The Civil Disobedience Movement reached its zenith in July and August throughout the country. Truly, there was again a mass upsurge, greater than in 1920-22. Regional and sectarian differences were completely forgotten for a time. The martyrdom of Babu Ganu at Bombay, of the people of Sholapur and Midnapore roused emotions equally in the hearts of all. The careful and methodical leadership of the movement in Bombay city, the heroic fight of the Khuda-i-Khitmatgars under Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in Frontier province, the great non-violent salt raids at Dharsana and Wadala (Gujrat) inspired us tremendously.

The resistance to the foreign government by other elements also reached a climax about this time. Following wide-

spread mass movement organised by the Khuda-i-Khitmatgars, the Afridis and other allied tribes moved on to the gates of Peshawar. It was really an invasion—and the attack had to be met by aerial bombing on a large scale, about seventy planes having been used on one occasion. In Bengal, the activities of the revolutionaries became widespread. In one week in August, 1930, we find the record of the following incidents :

There was an attack with bombs on Charles Tegart, Calcutta's notorious Commissioner of Police ; the next day a bomb was thrown at Jorabagan Police station, Calcutta. The following day another bomb was thrown at a Police out-post at Eden Gardens ; thereafter at Dacca Mr. Lowman, the Inspector General of Police, Bengal and Mr. Hodson, S.P., Dacca were fired at close range and in broad daylight. The assailant escaped although a large police force was about. Mr. Lowman subsequently died of the wounds. And thus the revolutionary groups continued their activities for months and years.

These were indeed trying times for the Government. Although openly the civil disobedience movement was belittled—the movement was always on the decline in the Government communiques right from the beginning—their nervousness was clearly indicated in contradictory polices. For example, the Government apparently was eager to come to some agreement with Gandhiji and the Congress. The 'peace mission' of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Shri M. R. Jayakar was clearly welcomed by them. The Nehrus, Pt. Motilal and Pt. Jawaharlal, were moved from Allahabad (Naini) prison to Yervada prison to enable Gandhiji to hold consultations with them. While the negotiations were still proceeding, the Government sprang a great surprise by the wholesale arrest of the Congress Working Committee at session at Delhi. The peace mission ultimately failed.

The tempo of the movement continued unabated till September but thereafter there were definite signs of slackening of activities in the cities. The Government no doubt gained the upper hand. On the contrary, in many rural areas, our workers found great enthusiasm and response amongst the masses. We had already many of our workers in the villages in various districts who were working under the direction of Bengal Civil Disobedience Council, Abhoy Ashram etc. The

following further details are available about our participation in Salt Satyagraha :

- (a) Murshidabad District Students Association sent satyagrahis to Mahishbathan of whom 12 were convicted.
- (b) Khulna District Association sent satyagrahis to Raruli of whom 75 were convicted.
- (c) Chittagong District Association sent a large number of satyagrahis to Kumiira. Further details are not now available.

We now decided to start work independently, in certain areas. A batch of workers was sent to Dinajpur district under the direction of Sj. Arunangsu De, a member of our Working Committee (and later our General Secretary). We acknowledge here the help we received in this connection from Late Sj. Suresh Chandra Majumder (of ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA) who had always been one of our ardent well wishers.

I have an account from Sj. Sudhir Pal (a member of our Working Committee) who was in this batch, of the wonderful experience of mass awakening and mass solidarity as a result of steady work for a few months only. They were working mainly in two contiguous *thanas* (areas under two rural police stations), Haripur in Dinajpur district and Barsoi in Purnea district (Bihar). The area had a predominantly Moslem and Adibasi population and the response amongst them was splendid. On one occasion at Barsoi Hat (village market) our workers were arrested by the police. Immediately, thousands of local people assembled and offered themselves for arrest. The workers had therefore to be let off and for a long time the district authorities did not interfere with the activities of our workers. It is noteworthy that many Grami Panchayats were established in the area and often these functioned as an alternative Government.

The Civil Disobedience Movement continued with varying momentum until the historic Gandhi-Irwin Pact was concluded in March, 1931. As a matter of fact, Lord Irwin took a momentous decision in January, 1931, after a conciliatory declaration by the British Premier, Ramsay McDonald and released Gandhiji on 26th January and most other Congress leaders immediately thereafter. The Government, however,

was playing a double game. They arrested Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and sent him to prison for holding a meeting the same day in connection with the Independence Day celebrations. However that may be, after prologed deliberations (from which Subhas Bose was kept out, being confined in jail) the Pact was signed on 5th March, 1931, and Civil Disobedience Movement was officially discontinued by the Congress Working Committee.

We already took note of the fact that the movement had been on the decline in the cities from about October, 1930. In the altered circumstances, the Central Council of the A.B.S.A. met in November 1930, took a realistic measure of the situation and withdrew the ban on attendance of schools and colleges. Apart from that, there was no change in the programme and the policies of the Association until the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed.

By that time, a large number of workers were coming out of jail. Many had drifted from their families. Many felt frustrated. The primary task was to maintain morale in the wake of apparent failure. The Executive of the Association therefore had to proceed with great caution in this difficult situation. Soon, however, the corner was turned and the normal activities of the Association were resumed. It was very soon apparent, that the A.B.S.A. had in fact emerged stronger out of the ordeal. A large number of workers, trained and disciplined, were at the disposal of the organisation. In the rural centres, established during the movement, mass contact had indeed been achieved. There was, as yet, no major ideological conflict within the organisation. The members were generally of one mind on the primacy of the objective before them —the achievement of national freedom.

The Students Day, 1931, was celebrated with a restricted programme, as civil disobedience was not yet suspended. The Annual meeting was held in the University lawns in the evening. Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta was the principal speaker and Sj. Pramatha Nath Banerji, then Principal, Law College, presided. Sj. Sen Gupta began by saying that before he came to the meeting he received a message over phone from the Vice-Chancellor asking him to remember the rules and regulations of the University under which current political topics

could not be discussed in the University premises. He however informed the Vice-Chancellor clearly that politics would certainly be the theme of his address. Sj. Sen Gupta then referred to the political situation after the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee and Mahatma Gandhi.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### BETWEEN THE TWO MOVEMENTS

#### I

Towards the end of 1930, the Executive of the A.B.S.A. decided to place the future programme of work of the Association before the general body of members. The obvious step in this connection was to call a session of the All-Bengal Students' Conference which had not been held since October, 1929. Originally, the venue was fixed at Behrampore, but the hosts, the Murshidabad District Students Association, informed the Working Committee of the A.B.S.A. that it would indeed be difficult for them to make suitable arrangements as they had suffered heavily in the Civil Disobedience Movement and many active workers were still in jail under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. The venue was therefore shifted to North Calcutta. A Reception Committee was formed with Sj. Jagaddhatri Kumar Banerji as Chairman. Prof. S. Radhakrishnan was elected President of the session by the unanimous vote of the district associations. He was however for personal reasons unable to accept the offer.\* Sja. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya thereafter was invited to preside over the Conference and Prof. C. R. Reddy, formerly Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University was invited to open the gathering. The arrangements for the Conference were on a grand scale. A Swadeshi Exhibition with a large number of stalls of products of Indian industry was opened by Mrs. Nellie Sengupta (wife of J. M. Sen Gupta). A music competition was opened by Sja. Sarala Devi Chaudhurani. Among the judges were Kazi Nazrul Islam and Krishna Ch. Dey. A Health Exhibition was organised with the help of Health Assn. of Western India, Tuberculosis Association and the Corporation of Calcutta. Besides, there were demonstrations of physical feats everyday in the evening.

\* He however attended the conference for some time as a distinguished visitor.

WORKING COMMITTEE OF A.B.S.A., 1929-30



*Sitting (L. to R.):* H. Bal, Sallen Mitra, Sudhangsu Bose, Kumaladev Chattopadhyay,  
Sachin Mitra, Amar Roy  
*Standing (L. to R.):* N. Chowdhury, Sudhir Pal, Ajit Dutt, Santosh Chatterjee, Arunangsu De,  
Mohit Chatterjee, Narayan Lahiri



The Conference was held at the large hall of the private residence of Pasupati Nath Bose on Baghbazar Street on the 6th, 7th and 8th March, 1931 and the exhibitions were held in the spacious grounds.

We print in the Appendix newspaper reports of the speeches of Prof. C. R. Reddy, Sja. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay and Jagaddhatri Kumar Banerji. The report of activities of the Association read before the conference by the Secretary is also printed in full as a document of some historical significance.

Political topics dominated the proceedings in view of the tumultuous happenings of the past year. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact had been signed the previous day. The refusal of the Government to stay the execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru convicted in the Lahore conspiracy case in spite of countrywide demonstrations and Gandhiji's pleadings to the Viceroy, profoundly agitated youthful minds all over the country. Further grave dissatisfaction in Bengal resulted from the fact that a large number of students and youngmen arrested under B.C.L.A. remained in prison. On the first day of the conference, almost all members were very critical of the terms of the pact. On the final day, Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta (a member of the Congress Working Committee) who had just returned from Delhi addressed the conference at some length and explained in some details the long negotiations between Gandhiji and Lord Irwin and the true implications of the pact. After long deliberations the conference adopted a resolution with almost unanimous support. The resolution is printed in the Appendix along with other resolutions of the conference.

A new Working Committee including office bearers of the coming term were elected. Sj. Krishna Kumar Chatterji and Sj. Arunangshu Dey were the new President and General Secretary respectively.

## II

Shortly after our North Calcutta conference, the session of the Indian National Congress, deferred due to the movement, was held at Karachi. Some of our members attended the session as delegates elected from their districts. We have

previously referred to the proposal for the formation of an All-India Students' Federation mooted at Lahore in January, 1930. An All-India Students' Convention was held at Karachi on 26th March, 1931. Over one thousand students attended. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru presided. The Convention was addressed amongst others by Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Subhas Chandra Bose and J. M. Sen Gupta. The delegates from A.B.S.A. took a prominent part in the proceedings. The main resolution was as under :

"While expressing its confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Committee for their inspiring conduct of *Satayagraha* campaign, this conference expresses its disappointment at the Gandhi-Irwin settlement and urges upon the Indian National Congress not to lower the flag of complete independence."

Another resolution passed was as under :

'No form of Government would be acceptable to the youth unless it marked the end of all exploitation of masses and advocated the reconstruction of Society on the basis of equality of all man and woman and the nationalisation of all the instruments of production, distribution and exchange.'

An All India Committee was formed to organise the Federation. The Committee failed however to make much headway or to play any effective role although some of the constituent provincial associations actively participated in the next great mass movement of 1932-33.

The aftermath of the Congress session found the youth of the country in great emotional strain. The execution of Bhagat Singh and others unmasked the vindictive nature of the administration, with which the people had to contend. The Government lost a great opportunity for reconciliation after months of bitter struggle with the people of the country. In Bengal, other executions followed and thousands of young men detained under B.C.L.A. and various conspiracy cases languished in prisons. It was but natural that the younger generation of the country thought that the pact would be short-lived and the struggle would have to be resumed sooner than the leaders expected. Political questions therefore dominated the policies of the A.B.S.A. The agitation showing resentment against

the execution of Bhagat Singh and his associates found expression in the hartals, meetings, and demonstrations on the occasion of his Sradh ceremony on 8-4-31. On the 31st March, a large number of meetings were organised throughout the province under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. demanding commutation of death sentences on Dinesh Gupta and Ramkrishna Biswas convicted for revolutionary activities. In a mass rally of students under the joint auspices of A.B.S.A. and B.P.S.A. held at Sraddhananda Park on Jallianwallabagh day (13th April) the following resolution was passed :

"This meeting of the students and public of Calcutta most respectfully remember the memory of Jallianwalla Bagh and urges on the youth of Bengal to dedicate themselves more fully to the cause of the country thereby showing proper regard for the souls of those who laid down their lives".

The growing resentment of the students and youngmen was aggravated by numerous cases of victimisation and harassment of students by many institutions for joining the last civil disobedience movement. A meeting was held on 10th July, 1931 at Albert Hall (Calcutta) under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. to protest against such a policy. Sj. Ramananda Chatterji, Editor, "Modern Rivew" and "Prabasi" presided. In course of an impressive speech, Sj. Chatterji, said that the principals of the colleges concerned lamentably lacked the knowledge of human psychology and of human nature and characterised the actions of these principals as unwise. He severely condemned the mentality betrayed by these principals in demanding from the students such sort of undertakings which were grossly insulting to the very human nature. He wondered what harm was there and how could it be in any way blamable, if the students picketed ganja or wine shops in view of the very plain fact that even small boys knew that *ganja* smoking or drinking wine is a vice. The speaker wanted to know from the teachers, principals and the Director of Public Instruction if by taking such undertakings from the students, they would be able to prevent them from coming in contact with the atmosphere in the country. He failed to understand how they could check the young students from joining political movement when even old men like himself felt tempted to respond to the call of the motherland.

Criticising the action of the Principal of Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh, Sj. Chatterji said that his action in demanding undertaking from boys who had taken part in the national movement was all the more disgraceful because he was a Bengali and he was doing it though there was no Government circular to the effect. The speaker also pointed out that these heads of the educational institutions were acting in defiance of the Gandhi-Irwin agreement. The speaker also referred to the cases of Gauhati Cotton college, Chittagong college and Bethune college and condemned the actions of the principals of these institutions.

The A.B.S.A. sent the following wire to Gandhiji : "Students of Bengal and Assam victimised for joining national movement. Numerous complaints. Students agitated. Resolved send representation to you. Please move Viceroy".

Breaches of the Agreement were reported from almost everywhere in the country. The complaints were conveyed to Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, by Mahatma Gandhi. Government reaction however was far from helpful. Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru met the Viceroy in Simla in July. A complete charge-sheet was handed over to the Home Secretary by Gandhiji personally. The attitude of the Government nevertheless did not undergo any change. There was prolonged controversy between the Government and the Congress Executive over the proposed Round Table conference and at one stage the Congress Working Committee decided not to take part in the Conference. Gandhiji met the Viceroy twice in August and the situation appeared to have eased at least for the time being. A communiqué was issued by the Government on 28th August setting forth the terms of a new agreement on the disposal of the complaints of breach of Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Gandhiji sailed for London as the sole delegate of the Congress on the 29th August, 1931.

The actual conditions in the country however did not at all reflect the spirit of the Pact, and deteriorated considerably during the absence of Gandhiji. For Bengal, the truce, moreover, was only partial. The Pact actually embodied an understanding between the Government and the Congress. The revolutionary parties and their activities were outside the scope of the Pact. Vigorous police action continued against the re-

volutionaries and the Government often resorted to brutal and indiscriminate methods to counter the activities of the revolutionaries. Innocent men and women in many cases suffered terribly. Repression however only brought further reprisals in the wake. Public agitation and appeal by leaders including Gandhiji always left the Government undeterred in their determined resolve to crush the revolutionary movement by all means. In this connection the following observations of a British commentator are of interest:

"Gandhi's whole aim was to minimise violence ; the government's was the same. They were still capable of suppressing a few outbreaks of small-scale violence but if once Gandhi ceased to dominate Congress, the machine he had built up might well be used by more dynamic and violent people. A full scale rebellion could not be crushed. So the Government obliged Gandhi by treating him with considerable respect—by jailing him occasionally to keep up appearances-while they took much more positive action against terrorists and those Western style revolutionaries whom they really feared. "(The Last Years of British India, by Michael Edwards—pp 47). Clearly, Mr. Edwards has belittled the potentialities of Gandhian mass movement but otherwise may have assessed the policy of the British government correctly.

The country thus was again heading towards a crisis. The students and youth were agitated and listless. The execution of two young revolutionaries in Bengal, Dinesh Gupta and Ramkrishna Biswas was followed by widespread student demonstrations. At Chittagong, there was serious communal violence, suspected to be engineered by the police, and reports of grave police atrocities reached Calcutta. Amongst the victims were many students and teachers including women. The people were profoundly shocked. A public meeting was called by A.B.S.A. to consider the situation. The following report is quoted from the ADVANCE of 18-9-31.

"Never before perhaps within living memory had Albert Hall witnessed a gathering so great as the one that assembled there on Thursday (17-9-31) to consider the situation arising out of recent happenings at Chittagong with particular reference to the molestation of students, Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta presiding.

The meeting held under the auspices of the A.B.S.A.

condemned the wanton assaults made on innocent students and teachers of Chittagong and requested the A.B.S.A. to arrange relief. . .

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta said that the loss incurred by the sufferers will amount to not less than two crores of rupees. Besides the president, Sj. Krishna Kumar Chatterji, Prof. Nripen Banerji and Chittaranjan Das also spoke."

More shocks however awaited the country. It soon came out that on 16-9-31, the sentries of Hijli Detention camp fired at dead of night apparently without any provocation on the revolutionaries detained without trial. Sjs Tarakeshwar Sen and Santosh Mitra died and 20 others were injured. Some of the injured had been members of A.B.S.A. All detainees of the camp thereafter went on hunger strike. It is difficult to reproduce in words the emotional strain produced in Bengal. Poet Rabindranath Tagore came down from Santiniketan to preside over a public meeting of protest at Calcutta on 26-9-31 and to voice his anguish.

The detainees gave up hunger strike on certain assurances by the government but the state of strain in the province remained.

### III

Although wider political interests of the country dominated our attention, the normal activities were never forgotten. The following programme of work for the summer vacation was undertaken ;

1. To organise touring parties who will contact peasants and industrial labour and teach political, social and economic subjects.
2. Fostering Hindu-Muslim unity.
3. Boycott of foreign goods.
4. To form district students' association where such an organisation did not function.
5. To start free primary and night schools.
6. Every D.S.A. will start a central library.

The above programme, as it appears from reports was largely implemented. It should be particularly mentioned that the North Calcutta District Students Assn. established a

Children's Library, an institution unique of its kind at that time here.

The A.B.S.A. resumed picketing of foreign cloth shops at Calcutta within limits permissible under terms of Gandhi-Irwin pact, on 12th July, 1931. The lead was soon followed by some of the District Congress Committees and picketing was further extended to cover shops selling wines and narcotics. The joint endeavour of A.B.S. A and the Congress organisation at Calcutta continued for a long time.

In order to consolidate the district organisations, annual students' conferences were held in various districts.

<i>Conference</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>President</i>
Barisal District	April, 1931	Dr. Miss. Prabhavati Dasgupta
Myinensingh District	April, 1931	J. M. Sen Gupta
Bogra District	April, 1931	Prof. Nripen Banerji
Tipperah (Chandpur)	May, 1931	A m a r e n d r a Nath Chatterji
Faridpur District	June, 1931	Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta
Howrah Dt.	July, 1931	Sja. Jyotirmoyee Ganguly
Kishoreganj (Mymen-singh).	July, 1931	Sj. Atul Sen
Calcutta districts (combined)	August 1931	Acharya J. B. Kripalani
Tipperah District	Sept., 1931	Sj. Bankim Mukherji
Murshidabad District	Dec., 1931	Chaudhury Moazzem Hussain

It is not possible to give any comprehensive account of the constructive activities undertaken by the A.B.S.A. during the period following the Gandhi--Irwin pact in the districts. The interlude was only brief and after a few months the Association was in the thick of a veritable war of independence. No office records could be preserved. We give below the following

extracts appearing in our journals to give some idea of the nature and extent of these activities :

*North Calcutta D.S.A.*

The North Calcutta D.S.A., has given a bold lead to the student community of Bengal. It has resumed peaceful picketing from Sunday, the 12th July and is marshalling a number of volunteers every day. In addition, it has arranged street haranguing which is a very effective instrument for appealing to the public.

The D.S.A., is further arranging to start a gymnasium with all modern equipments where students of the locality can improve their physique by systematic culture. It is also maintaining a standing volunteer corps one hundred strong.

The D.S.A. has also arranged several extension lectures and held regular study classes when papers were read and discussed.

The North Calcutta D.S.A. is also sending touring parties to the villages every week-end. They travel on foot and address meetings in the villages and try to get in touch with the villagers so as to be thoroughly acquainted with their life and ideas. During the last month they have visited Bhadrakali, Konnagar, Bishnupur, Rajarhat, Basirhat and Baruipur. (India Tomorrow, 13-7-1931).

*Jalpaiguri D.S.A.*

The Jalpaiguri D.S.A. has been making extensive propaganda amongst the masses to explain to them the ideal and programme of the Congress. A touring party has been formed and the members are already moving in the distant villages.

*Darjeeling D.S.A. (Siliguri)*

A well equipped library with a reading room, a strong volunteer corps and a swimming club have also been started by the D.S.A.

*Hooghly D.S.A.*

The Hooghly D.S.A. is sending out batches of workers to the villages to preach Swadeshi and have arranged to picket several liquor shops in the district.

*Uttarpalli (North Calcutta) D.S.A.*

The Uttarpalli D.S.A. has started picketing before liquor shops and foreign cloth shops.

*Faridpur D.S.A.*

The annual district conference was held in June last, Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta Ph.D., having presided. More than 150 delegates attended and Dr. Ansari addressed the gathering. A Student's Militia for adult boys and a "LIGHTFOOT INFANTRY" with boys of 6 to 10 years, have been formed.

Three new branch associations have been formed. (India Tomorrow, 27-7-31).

*Faridpore D.S.A.'s Activities (N. Bose, Secy. Wandervogel party)*

The 'Wandervogel' item was included within the list of various departments of the A.B.S.A. at the suggestion of my friend Bijoyendra Nath Roy. Thanks are also due to the President who kindly sanctioned it. It was originally German idea, and in our case it has been fortunately translated into practice owing to the ungrudging help and sympathy of the members.

To give an account of our tour. We started on the 10th February at 5 A.M. For some hours our journey was smooth and comfortable but at 8 A.M. we met with heavy showers of rain which hampered our progress. So we were compelled to take shelter in Babu Gopal Chandra Sarcar's house at Bangewardi, 13 miles away from Faridpur, and the host's hearty reception can never be exaggerated. Afterwards at 2 we left the place and continued our march till evening when we took refuge for the night in Raisahib Ishan Chandra Ghose's house. The old master of the house, the father of the distinguished professor P. C. Ghose of the Presidency college, entreated us with engaging and illuminating talks about knotty historical problems.

Next day, early in the morning we resumed our march and reached our destination, Mahmudpur at 8 A.M.

This place as all know, is of historical importance.....  
..... Furthermore, the native simplicity of the villagers fascinated us. We felt with satisfaction that the present politi-

cal movement storming over the towns has penetrated the inmost villages. Even the uncultured ferrymen refused to take from us any ferry charge thinking us to be Congress workers. . .

Our journey has convinced us of the truth that a man can travel in India without a pice in his pocket, which testifies to the hospitable nature of the people. We also believe that the faculties which lie dormant in inaction may shine in use. The enthusiasm, cheerfulness and vigour of the tourists have kindled in our hearts new hopes and aspirations. . . . . (India Tomorrow, 24-8-31).

*Bogra D.S.A.*

The Bogra D.S.A. extended its usual field of activity and earnestly took up flood and famine relief work. Several workers were deputed by the Association who worked under the Sankat Tran Samiti and District Congress committee . . . . The president of the Assn. has been touring in the interior of the country on cycle to gain an intimate knowledge of the situation. (India Tomorrow, 21-11-1931).

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The A.B.S.A., consistent with its ideals and objectives, organised numerous meetings and symposiums, to extol the inspiring life and activities of some of the great men of India. On the 16th June, 1931 a meeting was held on the occasion of the death anniversary of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. A largely attended public meeting was held on 1-8-31 at Albert Hall under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. to observe Lokmanya Tilak Day. Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta presided. On 2nd October, 1931, Gandhi Jayanti was observed and a meeting was held under the joint auspices of the A.B.S.A. and the Gaudhi Jayanti Celebration Committee. Acharya P. C. Ray presided. A symposium was also held in celebration of Gandhi Jayanti on 6-10-31. Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, then Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, presided and in course of his address gave an interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy. Papers on the same subject were also read by Prof.. Priya Ranjan Sen and Shri Gaganbihari Lal Mehta.

A meeting was held at Albert Hall under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. on 19-11-31 to welcome Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was then on a visit to Calcutta. The following report is quoted from "Advance" of 20th November, 1931 :

A crowded students' meeting was held at Albert Hall on 19-11-31 under the auspices of the All Bengal Students Association. Sj. Krishna Kumar Chatterji, president of the A.B. S.A. presided. After expressing hearty appreciation of the kind and warm welcome accorded to him, Pandit Nehru said "I hope you will permit me to consider myself as one of you. Although, I am older than you, I still carry with me the mentality of the student which I hope will be mine throughout my life. We have come here as students with all the emotions and warmth of young men and young women, of course, but calmly and dispassionately in the spirit of a student, in the scientific spirit, to consider many problems that confront us. We cannot pass over and ignore these problems, simply be-

cause, we have not got the time or the leisure ; for if we ignore the problems, they will not ignore us. We shall ignore them at our peril. We cannot refuse to give these problems our most serious thought.

Your president made an appeal to me to refer to the serious situation in Bengal. I would be blind indeed, and any person would be blind indeed, if he could not see what was happening in Bengal. I would be deaf and anybody would be deaf indeed if he did not hear the cry of anguish that came from thousand homes in Bengal. Take it from me that India is not deaf or blind to what is happening in Bengal.

But what are we going to do : That is the question before you and me. Have we got to face the situation and overcome the difficulty ?

After referring to the preparation made by the country for action following the decision of Lahore Congress, Panditji stated that not only opponents but many of those who sympathised with the aspirations of Indians felt pessimistic when Mahatmaji talked of Salt Satyagraha. Many there were who laughed at the idea and considered it to be ridiculous idea and there was loud laughter in the high places and offices of the Government but the laughter did not last long. The piper sounded his pipe : Mahatma Gandhi's clarion call was heard from one corner of the country to another. The people did not know at first what to do. But the piping became louder and they found even Mahatma Gandhi vanishing from the scene. The sound was still there but they did not realise whence it was coming until they realised that it was coming from their own hearts. The whole country was soon carried away by the inner urge it felt and plunged headlong into the fight. Such was the movement that took place last year and those who were in it, know what the real joy of life was. Suffering and sacrifice is the real joy of life . . . . I do not want you to live a vegetable existence. I want you to live as live men and partake of the real joy of life.

Proceeding, the speaker said that the true test that the last movement was a real movement was that it affected the life of the people in a variety of ways and in a particular way it affected the womenfolk of the country. It dwelt a severe blow to the Purda system under which they have secreted their

womenfolk and consigned them behind the Purdah and put them in a cage. The movement almost swept away the barrier of the Purdah. Another test that it was real movement was that it affected the peasantry who are really the exploited people in India today.

Although the movement was a political one to begin with, it ultimately more or less affected the whole of our life . . . . Referring to the truce, he said that its days were numbered. Considering the results of last year's movement, one must automatically feel that the main line of advance and work must necessarily be along last year's lines. They must act in that way. Of course, the question as to what form the Satyagraha movement would take and the details of the programme are matters that had to be decided. The country had realised that the Satyagraha movement had brought a large measure of success and necessarily they must adhere to it . . . .

Take your province of Bengal. It has taken a great part in the nationalist movement. It began its work long before any other province moved in that direction. You have a long tradition of national service. You have got splendid material ; you have got a large number of brave young men and women who are prepared to suffer and sacrifice. And yet I am prepared to tell you that today you are lagging behind in the struggle for freedom. Instead of developing your strength, you are engaged in little dissensions and quarrels. It is an extraordinary state of things. There are so many parties fighting with each other—political parties, labour parties, students' parties and so on.

You go to any part of India, you will find people saying : what has happened to Bengal? It was a great province ; we always looked to it for inspiration. Why are they now quarrelling with each other? It is an extraordinary thing that this great province is crumbling to pieces because of these internecine factions. It is a matter of very serious consideration by you youngmen. Everything seems to be done on party lines. This state of things must be put down. And I must also say that I cannot congratulate your newspaper press in this respect. I can understand parties on grounds of principle. There can be difference of opinion on matters of principle. But the quarrels

seem to be on personal grounds. That is the most degrading spectacle you could have.

The speaker was afraid that there had arisen in the Congress a desire to share the spoils, to have this office or that and to hold power and the like. They must realise that real power did not come from office. Gandhiji had once been giving his serious thought to the idea that all Congress leaders and workers should serve in an honorary capacity in the Swaraj government and that they would get no office in the state.\* There were of course difficulties in the way and the matter was still under consideration. It was now time for the youngmen to show an example in that direction by saying that they worked in the cause of the country and did not want any office. . . . ”

The above remarks roused some feelings. In reply to a question by a newspaper reporter, Panditji pointed out that it was indeed a fact that the number of people who courted imprisonment in Bengal was greater than any other province and the boycott of British goods was also very successful. But what he wanted to draw their attention to was the fact as to why Bombay figured so prominently. It was because they worked in organised way while in Bengal they did not work in organised way. There were so many groups acting which impaired the strength of the movement and there was lack of organisation. But in Bombay there was only one body working in an organised fashion. . . .

\* The following further details in this connection may be of interest. Just after the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhi remained at Delhi for a few days. "His innermost thought on many matters of the past, of the present and especially of the future, he revealed to his closest colleagues in his early morning walk. In one of those intimate talks, he told Jawaharlal Nehru his ideas of the future of the Congress. Nehru had imagined that the Congress as such, would automatically cease to exist with the coming of freedom. Gandhi thought that the Congress should continue, but on one condition: that it passed a self-denying ordinance, laying it down that none of its members could accept a paid job under the state, and if one wanted such a post of authority in the state he would have to leave the Congress. The Congress by its detachment and having no axe to grind could exercise tremendous moral pressure on the executive as well as other departments of the government and keep them on the right track". (Tendulkar, "Mahatma Gandhi", vol. 3).

Further, in a statement issued from Allahabad on December 8th, Pt. Nehru expressed regrets that his words were ill-chosen and were grievously misrepresented and caused pain to Bengal workers. He said "In the course of my address to students, I had laid stress on the tremendous sacrifices of Bengal. I had pointed out, however, that the effect of these sacrifices would have been greater if mutual distrust and dissension had been absent. (Advance, 10th December, 1931.)

The country and the world outside was at that time celebrating the 70th birthday of Poet Rabindranath Tagore. A committee was formed under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. to celebrate the occasion in a fitting manner, on behalf of the students of Bengal. Eventually, the committee was enlarged into a joint committee of all students' organisations and students' unions of Calcutta colleges. Sj. Benoyendra Nath Banerji and Sj. Kshemendra Mohan Sen of A.B.S.A. were elected President and Secretary respectively of the Committee. Addresses embodying tributes of love and reverence of the student community of Bengal were presented to the poet on 31-12-31 at the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University. The addresses were read by Sj. Benoyendra Nath Banerji, Sm. Kalyani Das and Kumari Jahanara Begum.

"In reply to the addresses, the poet at the outset referred to the deep and abiding influence which the thought currents pervading the atmosphere in his family had on his mind. He came to the family at a time when its life was pulsating with the thoughts and ideals of a new age. The Tagore family had an atmosphere solely and purely its own. It had a deep love for the Bengali language and the Bengali literature, for the Upanishads and quite as much deep was its love for English literature. The picture that he gave to the audience of his boyhood was that of one whose days were spent in the isolation of quietude. The class room could not hold his mind.

The poet referred to the contention that the present was not an age for poetry. If the contention was right, it was no fault of poetry but the hitch lay in the times.

Proceeding the poet said, Love is the permanent gift of Luck(?) and that is the highest reward of a poet. He who gives work may in return be given laurels but he whose work it is to give joy can be repaid only by love.

If the creation of the poet is true, the glory of the truth is in the creation itself and not in its acceptance by others. It often so happens that others have not accepted it but that only affects the market value and not the intrinsic value of truth.

The flower has its last word in that it has blossomed. He who delights in it wins, the flower wins in the very fact of its own blossoming. In the core of beauty, lies a sweet, mysterious truth which is beyond reach, it has an ineffable affinity with our heart and in its contact consciousness becomes happy, deep and enlightened. The man in us grows up rich in beauty and sweetness. In colour and sweetness, our inner self becomes indissolubly linked up with it—this is what we call Love.

The duty of the poet is to awaken the consciousness of man to this Love, and stir up from indifference. He alone is acclaimed as a great poet who had diverted the attention of the human heart to things which have in them permanence, glory, freedom and which are extensive and deep. The wealth of human heart lies treasured in the art and literature of every age and clime. The love for a particular man in a particular country in this wide world can be understood from its literature. It is this love which is the criterion of judging men.

It is a long time that I have been writing, writing through different stages and conditions of life—I had not then understood myself. So there is no doubt that in my writings there is a lot of superfluities and things unworthy of acceptance. But leaving aside all these, what stands palpably clear throughout my writings is that I have loved this world, I have vowed before what is noble, I have yearned for *Mukti* which means self-surrender before the Supreme Being. It has been my firm belief that the truth for man lies embedded in Man Supreme—He who is ever enshrined in the heart of man. (Reproduced from "Advance", 1st January, 1932.)

A few weeks later when we were again deeply involved in the Civil Disobedience movement, we sought and received a message from the poet as under :

"Our students have come to claim a message from me in this critical time of our history. I have already delivered that message which I can only repeat. The policy which the govern-

ment thinks fit to adopt in the present moment is catastrophic in character. We must work in grim determination to serve our contry—following a path that is constructive, that is permanent and fundamental. No power has the right to deprive us of such service and self consecration. The dispair itself should give us profound calmness of strength which silently works its own fulfilment without wasting its resources in puerile emotionalism and self thwarting destructiveness."

Both the Journals of A.B.S.A., "India Tomorrow" and "Chhatra" published special Tagore issues on the occasion. It should be recorded here that the special issue of the India Tomorrow contained a very well written article by Shri O. C. Ganguly on the paintings of Rabindra Nath Tagore, probably one of the earliest interpretations of Tagore's pictorial art.

The Students' Rabindra Jayanti committee arranged a dramatic performance of "SHAP MOCHAN"—a drama specially written by the poet for us and published by us.

In August, 1931, there were widespread floods in some districts of North Bengal. Workers of A.B.S.A. from Calcutta and the districts were associated with the relief work. A Central Students' Relief Committee was formed under the auspices of the A.B.S.A. with Sj. Arunangsu De as Secretary. The Committee raised funds and recruited volunteers for relief work. Under the central committee, local committees functioned in many districts. Some of the district students' associations (Myneusihg, Faridpur and Pabna) operated their own relief centres. Others acted under the *SANKAT TRAN SAMITI*, the central organisation set up under the leadership of Sir P. C. Ray. Sj. Arunangsu De visited the flood affected areas with workers of the A.B.S.A. to arrange and co-ordinate relief operations.

## CHAPTER NINE

### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE RESUMED

The new year (1932) saw a grave turn of events. The Round Table Conference in England attended by Gandhiji as the sole representative of the Congress failed to arrive at a satisfactory solution of Indian political problems. The change of government in Great Britain probably contributed to the failure. The new Secretary of State for India was Sir Samuel Hoare, a die-hard Tory whom Harold Laski once described as 'ideologically the prisoner of mid-Victorian world'. The coalition government of Ramsay MacDonald was itself divided on the Indian question. A large section of the Conservative party openly favoured the break up of the conference. They were determined to go no further than provincial autonomy whereas Gandhiji declared that he could not be satisfied with any thing less than complete transfer of power including the Army and Foreign Relations, to the Indian legislature. The die-hard elements in the Tory party therefore manœuvred for the failure of the conference and to that purpose the Princes' problem and the communal question were used as very convenient instruments.

In the meanwhile, economic conditions in India rapidly deteriorated in consequence of a world-wide trade depression. There was great suffering amongst the masses. The peasantry became restless. The youth of the country were eager for resumption of hostilities to end foreign rule. The government of India under the new Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) made elaborate preparations beforehand and clearly intended to deal the first blow. In Bengal a new Ordinance was promulgated in November giving far-reaching powers to the police. This was immediately followed by large scale police action throughout the province and more particularly in the Chittagong district. These arbitrary acts of widespread repression must rank as some of the blackest deeds of the British government in India. These however only led to further acts of terrorism in retaliation. Another Ordinance was promulgated in U.P. to control the

peasantry who had become desperate and were refusing to pay rents. Before Gandhiji started from London, he had told the press reporters that in the circumstances in India, resumption of civil disobedience may be inevitable and he expected to be arrested immediately on his return. As a matter of fact, Congress leaders, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib in Frontier Province and Purushottamdas Tandon, Jawaharlal Nehru, and T.A.K. Sherwani in U.P. were arrested before Gandhiji landed at Bombay on 28-12-1931. The Frontier Provincial Congress Committee was also declared an unlawful body.

The Congress Working Committee was in session soon after Gandhiji landed and it was announced on the 2nd January, 1932, that the committee had decided to launch civil disobedience movement again. In his characteristic way Gandhiji however kept the door open for negotiations. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru again tried to avert a crisis but Lord Willingdon was adamant and declared that no negotiations were possible under threats of civil disobedience. Very soon all other Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhi were arrested.

The ALL BENGAL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION plunged headlong into the battle. All preparations had been made beforehand. As a matter of fact some of our workers were arrested in December in connection with preparations for civil disobedience in certain areas. A Students' War Council was formed to organise and regulate all activities in this connection. The working committee of A.B.S.A. delegated all powers to the Students War Council. The members of the first War Council were : Krishna Kumar Chatterji, Miss Kalyani Das and Sudhangsu Bose. The organisation was no doubt firm and extensive but what is noteworthy is the spontaneous response that was received from the student community all over the province. Thousands of students—members and non-members—came forward with equal enthusiasm. For months the A.B.S.A. again bore the brunt of the movement at Calcutta where the main programme was defiance of government's orders and notifications. An extraordinary issue of the Bengal Gazette on 9-1-32 declared the A.B.S.A. and the Students' War Council as unlawful organisations. The office of the A.B.S.A. was taken possession of by the police and put under lock.

The Commissioner of Police, Calcutta had by a notification banned all meetings and processions. Everyday a new president or dictator of A.B.S.A. was installed in office who with a number of members held meetings in any of the numerous parks of the city or paraded the streets in a procession in defiance of the Police Commissioner's orders. As a matter of fact, there was an unending procession to jail. New members took the place of those arrested and for months there was no lack of recruits. Adequate preparations had been made as in 1930 to ensure continuity of policy and to maintain the integrity of the organisation. The movement had to be sustained by systematic work secretly planned by an inner circle the members of which had to keep aloof from open demonstrations and avoid arrest.

The A.B.S.A. generally worked on its own programme and plan but the workers were always in touch with Congress organisation and other bodies which were working on the same lines. There was hardly any occasion for conflict or overlapping of activities.

Unfortunately, no detailed records of these activities are now available. The newspapers were under restrictive orders and only sketchy accounts of incidents in connection with civil disobedience movement could be published. The ban on A.B.S.A. was never lifted and its office was never re-established. Few original records or reports or copies of literature published by the Association during the movement could be procured. We print in the Appendix a bulletin issued illegally by the Students' War Council in June, 1932 giving a brief account of the activities upto that date. But the account is by no means exhaustive. In the circumstances, it is possible for us to state in bare outline only the part played by A.B.S.A. in Calcutta and the districts. It was however estimated in 1933 that the number of members and associated workers who were imprisoned between 1930 and 1933 totalled at least twelve thousands including those who were detained without trial.

We give a short synopsis of the more important episodes during the years 1932 and 1933. The Government had banned beforehand the proposed Annual session of the Indian National Congress in Delhi in April, 1932. It was however decided to hold the meeting in spite of the ban. Pt. Madan Mohan

Malaviya, the President elect, was arrested on 23-4-32. Hundreds of Congress members from all over the country who tried to reach Delhi were arrested. In spite of extreme vigilance of the police, about 150 delegates assembled and formally held the session of the National Congress. Some of our members succeeded in reaching Delhi and were present at this historic gathering. (Further details are in the Appendix)

The A.B.S.A. was under ban and clearly it was impossible to hold the usual session of the annual conference as in normal years. It was however decided to hold a short session as a token of defiance of government orders. The following report is reproduced from the Advance of 21st July, 1932.

"The special session of the All Bengal Students Conference was held under the auspices of A.B.S.A. on 20-7-1932 in the University compound before a large gathering of students. Mrs. Sayeda Khatoon (wife of Abdur Rahim) presided.

After Sj. Dinesh Chandra Ganguly, Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President read the addresses, some resolutions were passed. The students then proceeded through College street in procession. In Mechubazar, the procession was dispersed by lathi charges and Mrs. Khatoon, Miss Tarulata Mitra, Sj. Dinesh Ganguly and Sj. Sibnanda Gupta were arrested. Sj. Birendra Chandra Barua sustained injuries and was taken to Medical College Hospital."

Large scale demonstrations against the orders and notifications of the Government took place throughout the country on the occasion of the Independence Day, 26th January, 1933. At Calcutta, a hartal was observed. In the evening, several processions in spite of the ban met at the Maidan and the demonstrators hoisted the National Flag. The meeting at the Maidan was dispersed by the police by lathi charges and the flag was seized. A procession organised by A.B.S.A. proceeded through Dharmatala Street. Many students were arrested. The National Flag was also hoisted by members of A.B.S.A. at Deshbandhu Park, North Calcutta. Here also many of our members were arrested.

The account we have given above is undoubtedly fragmentary. More details may be found in the bulletin issued by us in June, 1932 and printed in the Appendix.

We have mentioned the unlawful session of the Indian

National Congress held at Delhi in April, 1932. It was declared by Shri M. S. Aney, the acting President of the Congress that the 1933 session of the Congress would be held at Calcutta on the 31st March and 1st April. All preparations in this connection were being made a few weeks before the announced dates. The workers of A.B.S.A. took a prominent part in these preparations. The Government was keenly watchful and appeared to be determined not to allow the meeting. On the 25th of March, the provisions of Bengal Public Safety Act were applied to Calcutta. Arrests were made successively as soon as the names of the Chairman or Secretary of the Reception committee were announced. One of the Secretaries was a member of the A.B.S.A. Many other members of A.B.S.A. were arrested and detained, under Bengal Public Safety Act. Delegates from all over India tried to reach Calcutta.

Sri M. S. Aney was arrested but before that he had announced that Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya would preside over this session. Sm. Swarooprani Nehru (Mrs. Motilal Nehru), and Pt. Malaviya were arrested at Asansol and Dr. Syed Mahmud at Kiul while they were on their way to Calcutta. Dr. Muhammad Alam who happened to be in Calcutta for treatment was also placed under arrest. Ultimately, Sja. Nellie Sen Gupta was declared to be the president of the session. Among others who were arrested and detained at Asansol and Burdwan were Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Kesho Dev Malviya and Chandra Bhanu Gupta.

In spite of very careful vigilance of various government agencies and large number of arrests, many delegates reached Calcutta. Some avoided the railways and arrived on foot. Some of our members were able to avoid preventive arrest and took a leading part in organising the meeting.

The historic session took place at the open ground just near the Esplanade Tramway terminus (which at that time was nearer to the Chowringhee than now) under the Presidentship of Sja. Nellie Sengupta on the first day of April. It was a short but memorable meeting. Some of our members joined the meeting. Many others organised another meeting within the Calcutta corporation office compound and thereafter marched to the venue of the session of Congress but they were prevented by the police at Chowringhee crossing. This and two other

such meetings were organised to baffle the police. The following very factual account of the session is reproduced from the "Advance" of 2nd April, 1933.

"Animated scenes were witnessed on Saturday afternoon at Esplanade, the heart of the city, when what was described as the 47th session of the Indian National Congress was held under the Presidentship of Sja. Nellie Sengupta... extra police vigilance was in evidence at Esplanade junction and it was apparent that something unusual would happen. By 2o'clock groups of people were seen moving towards Curzon Park. The police promptly swooped on them and filled two vans with arrested men and women. Just as the clock struck three, there was a bugle sound and immediately Sja. Nellie Sen Gupta with a number of delegates with National Flag and shouting "Bande Mataram" moved towards the Tramway shed. Sj. Gopika Bilas Sen said to be the 5th Chairman of the Reception committee and who accompanied Sja. Sen Gupta proposed her to the Chair. After Shri Sen (Gopikabilas) had concluded his address, Sja. Sen Gupta rose and began addressing the gathering when Mr. Robertson, the Asst. Commissioner of Police, approached her and asked her not to proceed with her speech, which she refused. Sja. Sen Gupa (Nellie) was then arrested and escorted by Mr. Robertson along with Sj. Gopika Bilas Sen and other members of the Reception committee to Lall Bazar.

Immediately the police rushed on the gathering with batons and lathis but the resolutions were still being read. One after another people came forward on the improvised *dais* and began reading the resolutions and delivering speeches. Each of them was dealt with by the police, pulled down and dragged away.

Just at that moment a number of ladies came forward to the forum. Some of them had babies in their arms. They shouted "Bande Mataram" and the police immediately formed a cordon round them and kept them detained. Even in their detention, they continued delivering speeches. Soon the police vans came and they were removed.

On the other side, the police continued dispersing the assembly and in the course of it, many were seriously injured. One after another, the National Flags were snatched away. The police were moving briskly in the whole area and were not

sparing even those who were at some distance from the scene. In no time four vanful of men and women were taken away, the number being about 250 including 40 ladies. The rest of the assembly of about 500 men were dispersed. Thereafter more police came in and cleared the area.

Sj. Jiten Sen, son of Urmila Devi, said to be the dictator of the All Bengal Students Association (declared illegal) and Sj. Satya Sen, Secretary, S.C.D.S.A. (South Calcutta District Students Association) along with 150 students including several ladies were arrested near Chowringhee junction while proceeding to join the Congress at Esplanade. They were reported to have held a meeting within the Corporation compound from where they started. Among others, the following were arrested at the Maidan : Sj. Kharey of U.P., Sj Benodananda Jha of Bihar, Prof. Abdur Rahim and Sj. Rainsundar Singh (Midnapore).

A crowd of about 200 people made a move to hold another meeting near the Ochterlony monument. These people came out of the Eden Gardens by the south gate. When they approached the monument, the police rushed in and arrested about 25 men dispersing the rest with lathi charges.

Another meeting of about 200 men was held before the Ganesh Talkie House, Chitpur Road under the Presidentship of Sj. Pathak of Sindh. At first, the police were absent but they soon rushed into the place and after arresting the President and delegates numbering about 115 including 12 ladies, dispersed the crowd."

House raids and arrests were carried out all over the city on the day from early morning. The University buildings were heavily guarded and no access was allowed. The arrests at Calcutta in this connection totalled over one thousand. The part played by A.B.S.A. on this occasion is described in fuller details in an account by three of our colleagues published in the Appendix.

This was the last occasion when the A.B.S.A. joined in a large scale demonstration of mass civil disobedience. It is but fitting that we had as our leader this noble lady from Britain who had made India her home. Her husband, the late J. M. Sen Gupta, had succeeded C. R. Das to the so called Triple Crown (Mayoralty of Calcutta, presidentship of Bengal Provin-

cial Congress Committee and leadership of the Swaraj Party in the Bengal Legislative Council). He was, as would be evident from our account, intimately associated with our activities until his last days. Another illustrious lady to whom we owe so much is Sja. Basanti Devi (Mrs. C. R. Das). We have referred in details how in 1930 both A.B.S.A. and B.P.S.A. worked jointly under her instructions for the prosecution of civil disobedience with such magnificent results. No words can adequately express our gratitude and admiration for them.

We have apologised in the beginning that it is not possible for us to give proper account of the activities of our District Associations due to lack of materials. The A.B.S.A. had a strong organisation in most districts. These units worked in the towns as well as the villages. The units in Dinajpur district (Thakurgaon and Balurghat subdivisions) continued their splendid work. The workers of our Rajshahi district association led by Biresh Chakraborty took a prominent part in the no-rent campaign at Birkutsa. Two of them, Manas Gobinda Sen and Sankaracharya Maitra were arrested in December 1931, a few weeks before the resumption of civil disobedience. Sj. Sachindra Bhushan Dutt, Secretary, Students Union, Bengal College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur, was sent to Arambagh to direct a no-rent campaign there. We also sent two of our workers (Guna da Majumder and Bimal Mukherji) to Tchatta (Dt. Nadia) and Atul Chakraborty was sent to Bhanubilla in Sylhet district where no rent campaigns were organised. (cf. Appendix) Unfortunately, it is not possible for us to give more details. Thousands of students came forward and joined the fight for freedom. They did not strive for any publicity and faded from public attention when the movement for all practical purposes weared away. The strength of the A.B.S.A. lay in their unobtrusive work and selfless devotion and sacrifice.

All the while throughout 1932 and 1933, the people passed through an ordeal of repression. In Bengal, the repression seemed to have been far severer due to the activities of the revolutionaries. Government action always brought forth counterblows from the revolutionaries. Many Europeans, including three British District Magistrates in Midnapore in succession were assassinated. We need not go into this terrible

story of suffering in details. It would be enough to quote the following lines of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru :

"To a greater or less degree all the provinces of India went through the fire of repression but the Frontier Province and Bengal suffered most..... Parts of Bengal presented the most extraordinary spectacle. Government treated the whole population—or to be exact the Hindu population—as hostile and every one—man, woman, boy and girl between 12 and 25—had to carry identity cards. There were exterrnents in the mass, dress was regulated, schools were regulated or closed, bicycles were not allowed, movements had to be reported to the police, curfew, sunset law, military marches, punitive police, collective fine and a host of other rules and regulations. Large areas seemed to be in a continuous state of seige and the inhabitants were little better than ticket of leave men and women under the strictest surveillance." (Autobiography, Chapter, XLIII)

The students of Bengal including workers of A.B.S.A. largely shared in this agony of suffering.

## CHAPTER TEN

### Section I

In September, 1932 a delegation of India League (London) consisting of Miss. Ellen Wilkinson, Miss Monica Whately, Mr. Leonard Matters and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon (secretary) arrived in India and toured the country. Their's was a fact finding mission and we got in touch with the delegation when they arrived at Calcutta. They also went to the interior of the province. We helped the delegation, as far as possible, to observe demonstrations of civil disobedience and placed facts before the delegation about the conditions in the country. At Calcutta, we had a brief discussion with the members of the delegation at the residence of Shri J. C. Gupta and the delegation posed certain questions for us. Our reply which appeared in "India Tomorrow" is printed in Appendix.

Miss Monica Whately of the delegation presided over a meeting of students at Vidyasagar College. About three thousand students including girl students attended the meeting which was also addressed by Mr. Leonard Matters, Shri J. C. Gupta and Shri Dibyendu Sen of A.B.S.A.

The Civil Disobedience Movement was no doubt the chief programme of work of the organisation now. The normal activities for the furtherance of ideals of student movement were not however entirely forsaken. The A.B.S.A. was an unlawful organisation since January 1932 and the work had to be undertaken from other platforms.

Members of A.B.S.A. contested the elections to all the eight posts of under-Secretaryship in the Calcutta University Institute in 1932 and 1933, and won most of the seats. The activities of the Institute were brought more in line with the ideals of the student movement.

An All-Bengal Student's Swadeshi League was formed to propagate the ideals of Swadeshi. Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed a public meeting held under the auspices of the League on 23/8/1932. Meetings were also organised to further communal harmony.

Mahatma Gandhi commenced his historic fast unto death on 20/9/32 against the provisions of separate electorate for the Depressed classes embodied in the Communal Award of the British Government. The whole country was in a state of great emotional strain until the Poona Pact was signed five days later and its provisions accepted by the British Government. The workers of A.B.S.A. visited educational institutions and students' hostels to mobilise students so as to bring pressure on the Government. There was no attendance in most schools and colleges at Calcutta on 20/9/32 and sympathetic fasts were observed in the hostels. Meetings of students were held in the Calcutta University compound and in many educational institutions.

The most notable achievement, however, was the celebrations organised in connection with the 70th birth-day of Acharyya Profulla Chandra Ray. A Students Profulla Jayanti Committee was formed with Rabindra Lal Sinha as president and Sanat Kumar Sarker as secretary. An Exhibition of Swadeshi products was organised by the committee and opened on 24/12/32 by Sir Hari Sankar Paul, Mayor of Calcutta. Amongst those present on the occasion were Abanindra Nath Tagore, Gaganendra Nath Tagore and Dr. Nilratan Dhar. This was one of the most successful of such exhibitions before independence in Bengal and was visited by Acharyya Ray on 27-12-32. Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Sm. Nellie Sen Gupta Mrs. Motilal Nehru and Sja. Urmila Devi were amongst thousands who visited the exhibition until the celebrations closed on 9/1/1933.

The main function took place on 25th December, 1932. Dr. Nilratan Dhar presided. The address on behalf of Law College students was read by Sushanta Sen, that on behalf of Post-Graduate students was read by Sm. Kalyani Dutta and the address on behalf of students in general was read by Rabindra Lal Sinha. In a message wishing success to the Jayanti from Yervada Jail, Mahatma Gandhi said :

"Your letter. It would have been surprising if the students had not celebrated the seventieth birthday of the great chemist and the still greater social reformer.

I wish every success but regret your programme miss any item devoted to untouchables—Gandhi"

The problem of untouchability was dwelt at some length by the Acharyya in his reply to our address.

The programme of the Students Prafulla Jayanti committee was varied and comprehensive. A Literary conference was held and amongst the papers read was one on "Scientific Nomenclature in Bengali" by Dr. Eken Ghosh. At the end of the conference Dr. Nilratan Dhar delivered a lecture on "Life : A Chemical Reaction", with lantern slides. Other interesting lectures delivered were : on "Micro-Chemistry" by Prof. P. R. Ray, on "Economic Utility of Modern Chemistry" by Dr. H. K. Sen and "On the birth of Himalayas" by Prof. W. D. West.

Exhibitions of physical feats and of boxing were also organised. In pursuance of the remarks of Mahatma Gandhi and Acharyya Ray, the celebration committee organised a public meeting at Albert Hall on 3/1/1933 with Dr. Prankrishna Acharyya in the chair when lectures on the problem of untouchability were delivered. Acharyya Prafulla Chandra Ray himself was the main speaker.

The committee brought out a book "Prafulla Prasasti" containing articles on the Acharyya's varied life and work. The celebrations closed with a final public meeting on 9/1/33 presided over by Sm. Urmila Devi.

## II

The civil Disobedience movement had been on the decline since the end of 1932 and was suspended officially in May 1933 for a few weeks. Gandhiji who had been released earlier made abortive attempts to come to an understanding with the Government. Thereafter it was decided by the Congress Working Committee to resume civil disobedience by selected individuals and in due course Gandhiji was arrested again. Mass civil disobedience however remained suspended. It was no doubt defeat for the country and for the time being retreat was inevitable. But the goal of freedom remained—to be pursued relentlessly. Only in the given situation, the tactics had to be changed.

The ban on the A.B.S.A. was never lifted although the ban on Congress organisations was withdrawn shortly after-

wards. The A.B.S.A. group functioned as a cohesive group for some time more and shared in various activities for political and social advancement in 1933 and 1934.

The group took a leading part in the celebrations of Ram Mohan Roy centenary on behalf of students. A students' meeting was organised by the group on 18th January 1934 which was addressed by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who was then on a visit to Calcutta for the treatment of his wife. Sm. Kamala Nehru was also present at the meeting. It may be mentioned that Pt. Nehru was charged for sedition for his speech at this meeting (as well in other meetings at Calcutta during this visit) and eventually sentenced to two years' simple imprisonment by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.

Pt. Nehru also addressed a meeting organised by Students Ram Mohan Roy celebration committee on 17th Jany. The newspaper report of his speech here is printed in the Appendix.

It was on 15th January, that the great earthquake devastated North Bihar. Sj. Arunangshu De, and Sj. Sisir Banerji went to Bihar on our behalf and took part in the relief operations.

After long deliberations, we had decided not to revive the organisation in some other name. We thought it better to leave it to those who came after us the shape and direction of the student movement of the future. After all most of us ceased to be students by this time.

Eventually, many of us joined different political parties. Some confined themselves to constructive work and social reform. The A.B.S.A. as an organisation, formal or informal, ceased to exist after 1934.

Our Bengali journal 'Chihatra' ceased publication during the civil disobedience movement when most of our workers were in jail. The "India Tomorrow" however continued its publications and voiced the ideals and programme of work of A.B.S.A. until the middle of the year 1933 when it passed out of our hands. The A.B.S.A. group thereafter started two new journals, "Voice of Youth" (English weekly—Editor: Amarendra Nath Roy) and "Bhabi Kal" (Bengali monthly—Editors: Krishna Kumar Chatterji and Sailendra Nath Mitra). The "Voice of Youth" ceased publication by the end of 1933 but "Bhabi Kal" was continued till the end of 1934.

## APPENDIX

### I

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AT THE ALL BENGAL STUDENTS CONFERENCE, CALCUTTA, SEPTEMBER, 1928.

"You have done me honour in inviting me to preside over this gathering of youth of Bengal and I am grateful for it. But I have wondered what you wished me to say or do, what kind of message to deliver. I have no special message and you know well that I am no weaver of fine phrases or dealer in eloquence. To Bengal justly known for her warm hearted eloquence and love of art and beauty and passionate emotionalism, you have invited a dweller from the colder and sometimes much hotter regions of the north, whose ancestors came not so very long ago from the barren and snow covered mountains that overlook the vast Indian plain, and I am afraid, I carry with me, something of the coldness and hardness of that mountain climate. A very great leader of Bengal and of our country, whose memory we revere to-day, once called me very justly 'Cold Blooded'. I plead guilty to the charge, and since you have taken the risk of inviting me you will have to bear with my cold-bloodedness.

I have begun by drawing your attention to certain minor differences between us—a Kashmiri settled in the heart of Hindustan, which is now called the United Provinces and the residents of Bengal and yet you all know how unimportant are these differences, and how strong are the common bonds that tie us—the bonds of a common legacy from the past, of common suffering and the hope of building up a great future for the country of yours and mine. And indeed you can carry this comparison a little further, across the artificial frontiers that separate country from country. We are told of vital differences of race and character. Such differences there undoubtedly are, but how many of them are purely accidental due to climate and education and how liable to change they are? You will find that the common bond is greater and more vital than the differences, though many of us may not realise the fact.

It is the realisation of this common bond of humanity that has given rise to the great youth movement of to-day. Many of you may be too young to remember the despair and feeling of revolt in the minds of youth during and specially after the Great War. Old men sat in their comfortable cabinets and banking houses and hid their selfishness and greed and lies under a cover of fine phrases and appeals for freedom and democracy, and the young, believing in these fine phrases, went out by the million to face death and few returned. Seventy millions of them were mobilised and of the fifteen millions that actually served at the front, over eight millions died and over five and a half millions were maimed for life. Think of these terrible figures and then remember that they were all youngmen with their lives stretching out in front of them and their hopes unfulfilled. And what did this awful sacrifice bring forth? A peace of violence and an aggravation of all the ills that the world was suffering from.

You remember well that the first fruits of the peace for India were the Rowlatt Acts and Martial law. You know also how the fine principle of self determination which the allies shouted from the house tops, has been applied to India and to other countries. A new cloak for the greed of the imperialist powers was created in the shape of mandates and in awarding mandates, the "principal consideration" was to be the preference of the inhabitants. This preference was shown unaccountably by rebellion against the British in Mesopotamia and rebellion against the French in Syria. But the aeroplane and bomb was the British answer in Iraq and the ancient and beautiful city of Damascus was reduced to ruins by the French. In Europe itself the peace created far more problems than it solved.

Is it any wonder that the youths of the world rebelled and cast out their old time leaders on whom even the terrible lesson of the war was lost, and who still went on intriguing in the old way and prepared for yet another and a greater war? Youth set about organising itself and set out to find the ways and means of establishing an order of societies which could put an end to the misery and conflicts of to-day.

That is the basis of the world youth movement to-day. It is a larger and wider basis than that of national freedom for it became obvious to them that the narrow nationalism of the

West lays the seeds of war and national freedom often results in the freedom of a handful of people only and the rest continue to suffer and be exploited. And so the youth of the world probed deep into the causes of the present day misery. They studied the economic and social conditions of the people and they saw that although science and the changes that science had brought had in a few generations covered the track of centuries the minds of men still lagged behind and thought in terms of the dead past. Science had made the world international and interdependent but national rivalries continued and resulted in war. Science had vastly increased production and there was enough for all and to spare but poverty continued and the contrasts between luxury and misery were more marked than ever before. But if mankind is foolish and errs, facts do not adapt themselves to its errors and the world of our imagination conflicts with the world of reality and is it any wonder that chaos and misery result?

Facts are not to blame for this. The troubles and the difficulties lie not in things but in our misconception of them and misinterpretation of them. Our elders fail frequently because they are rigid in their minds and unable to change their minds and unable to change their mental outlook or adapt themselves to changing facts. But youth is not hidebound or rigid. Youth can think and is not afraid of the consequences of thought. Do not imagine that thought is an easy matter or that its consequences are trivial. Thought is not and should not be afraid of the wrath of the heavens or terrors of the hell. It is the most revolutionary thing on the earth. And it is because youth dare think and dare act that it holds out the promise of taking out this country and this world of ours from the ruts and mire in which they have sunk.

Are you youngmen and women of Bengal, going to dare to think and dare to act? Are you prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the youth of the world, not only to rid your country from an insolent and alien rule but also to establish in this unhappy world of ours a better and happier society? That is the problem before you and if you wish to face it sincerely and fearlessly, you will have to make up your minds to rid yourself and your country of every obstacle in your path, whether it is placed by our alien rulers or has the prestige of

ancient custom. You must have your ideal clearcut before you—how else can you hope to build the great structure of your dream? Can you build a palace on the foundations of mud hut or a fine bridge with straw? With definite ideals of your goal you will gain clearness of purpose and effectiveness of action and each step that you take will carry you nearer to your heart's desire.

What shall this ideal be? National independence and perfect freedom to develop on the lines of our own choosing is the essential requisite of all progress. Without it there can be no political or economic or social freedom. But national independence should not mean for us merely an addition to the warring groups of nations. It should be a step towards the creation of a world common-wealth of nations in which we can assist in the fullest measure to bring about world co-operation and world harmony.

But there can be no world co-operation so long as one country dominates over and exploits another and one group or class exploits another. Therefore, we shall have to put an end to all exploitation of man by man or woman by man. You cannot have a purely political ideal for politics is after all only a small part of life although situated as we are under alien rule, it dominates every branch of our activity. Your ideal must be a complete whole and must comprise life as it is to-day, economic, social as well as political. It can only be one of social equality in its widest sense and equality of opportunity for every one. It is notorious that we have neither of these to-day. Our womenfolk inspite of the great examples of old that we are so fond of repeating, are shackled and unfree. Large classes of our countrymen have been deliberately suppressed by us in the past and denied all opportunities of growth in the name of religion and ancient practice. And all over India we see to-day millions toiling in the field and factory and starving inspite of their toil. How can we rid these millions of their dire poverty and misery and make them share in the freedom to come? We hear of the service of the poor and sometimes even of the exaltation of the poor, and by a little act of charity or service we imagine that our duty is done. Having reserved very magnanimously the kingdom of heaven for the poor, we take good care to keep the kingdom

of the earth for ourselves. Youth at least should be above this hypocrisy. Poverty is not a good thing, it is not to be exalted or praised but an evil thing which must be fought and stamped out. The poor require no petty services from us or charity. They want to cease to be poor. That can only come by your changing a system which produces poverty and misery.

In the course of the last few months you have seen the whole of India convulsed in labour troubles. Lock-outs and strikes and shootings have followed one after another. Is it amusing, do you think, to the worker to strike and starve and perhaps be shot? Surely, no one does so unless his lot becomes unbearable and indeed the lot of the Indian to-day in factory or field is past all endurance. In the jute mills of your province the profits and reserve accumulations in ten years before 1926 amounted to nearly 44 crores of rupees. Think of this enormous figure and then see the condition of the poor worker of these mills, and yet the jute workers, miserable as they are have gone there because there was no room for them on the land or their conditions on the land were even worse. Can you expect any peace on the land when there is so much misery and so much contrast between wealth and abject poverty? You cannot ignore these problems or leave them to a future age for solution and if you are afraid of tackling them, you will find that facts can only be ignored at your peril.

We are sometimes told that we must do justice between land-lord and tenant and capitalist and worker and justice means the maintenance of the status quo. It is the kind of justice the League of Nations gives when it maintains the present status quo with the imperialist powers, dominating and exploiting half the earth. When the status quo itself is rank injustice, those who desire to maintain it must be considered as upholders of that injustice.

If your ideal is to be one of social equality, and world federation, then perforce you must work for a socialist state. The word socialism frightens many people in the country, but that matters little for fear is their constant companion. Ignorant of every thing important that has happened in this world of thought since they left their school books, they fear what they do not and will not understand. It is for you, the youth of the country, to appreciate the new forces and ideas

that are convulsing the world and to apply them to your own country. For socialism is the only hope for a distraught world to-day. It is interesting to note that, during the great war, when a great crisis threatened to engulf the nations of the West, even the capitalist countries of Europe were forced to adopt socialistic measures to a large extent. This was not only done internally in each country but unable to resist the pressure of events even internationally, there was co-operation in many fields, and national boundaries seemed to recede into the back ground. There was economic co-operation of the closest kind and ultimately even the armies of many nations became one army under a single head. But the lesson of the war has been lost and again we drift towards a great disaster.

Socialism frightens some of our friends, but what of communism? Our elders sitting in their council chambers shake their grey heads and stroke their beards at the mere mention of the word. And yet I doubt if any of them has the slightest knowledge of what communism is. You have read of the two new measures which are being rushed through the Assembly—one of them to throttle the Trade Union movement and the other to keep out people whom the Govt. suspects of communism. Has it struck you that it is a very curious thing that the mighty British Empire with all its tanks and aeroplanes and dreadnaughts should be afraid of a few individuals who come to spread a new idea? What is there in this idea that the British Empire should collapse like a pack of cards before this airy nothing? Surely you could not have better evidence of the weakness of this giant Empire which sprawls over the fairest portion of the earth's surface. It is a giant with feet of clay. But if an idea is a dangerous thing, it is also a very elusive thing. It crosses frontiers and customs barriers without paying any duty and bayonets and men-of-war cannot stop it. The Govt. of India must be strangely lacking in intelligence if they imagine that they can stop any ideas from entering India by legislation.

What is this communist idea before which the British Empire quakes? I do not propose to discuss it here but I wish to tell you that though personally I do not agree with many of the methods of the communists and I am by no means sure to what extent communism can suit present conditions in India,

I do believe in communism as an ideal of society. For essentially it is socialism and socialism I think is the only way, if the world is to escape disaster.

And Russia, what of her? An outcaste like us from the nations and much slandered and often erring. But inspite of her many mistakes, she stands to-day as the greatest opponent of imperialism and her record with the nations of the East has been just and generous. In China and Turkey and Persia of her own free will she gave up her valuable rights and concessions, whilst the British bombarded the crowded Chinese cities and killed Chinamen by the hundreds, because they dared to protest against British Imperialism.

In the city of Tabriz in Persia when the Russian ambassador first came, he called the populace together and on behalf of the Russian nation tendered formal apology for the sins of the Tsars. Russia goes to the East as an equal, not as a conqueror or a receproud superior. It is any wonder that she is welcomed?

Some of you may go in after years to foreign countries for your studies. If you go to England, you will notice in full measure what race prejudice is. If you go to continent of Europe, you will be more welcome whether you go to France or Germany or Italy. If any of you go to Russia, you will see how racial feeling is utterly absent and the Chinamen who throng the universities of Moscow are treated just like others.

I have placed before you the ideas of internationalism and socialism as the only ideas worthy of the fine temper of youth. Internationalism can of course only come to us through national independence. It cannot come through the British Empire or the British Common-wealth of nations, call it what you will, for the Empire is to-day the greatest foe of internationalism. If in future England chooses a real world federation none will welcome her more than we, but she will have to shed her imperialism before she can enter. Our quarrel is not with the people of England but with the imperialism of England.

I have laid stress on internationalism although it may be a distant ideal for us, but the world is already largely international, although one may not realise it. And situated as we are, the reaction against foreign rule is apt to make us narrowly national. We talk of the greatness of India and of her past.

It is well that we remember our past for it was great and worth remembering. But it is for age to look back, youth's eyes should be turned to the future. And I have often wondered if there is any country in the world, any people who do not fancy that they have a special mission for the world. England has her, "Whiteman's burden" which she insists on carrying in spite of ungrateful people who object and rebel ; France has her mission "Civilization" ; America is "God's own country" ; Germany has her "Kultur" ; Italy has her new Gospel of Fascism and Russia her Communism. And it has been so always. The Jews were the elect of the Lord and so were the Arabs. Does it not strike you as strange that every country should have the identical notion of having a special mission to reform the world ? If I may say so, every country has some mission in the world to enrich its culture in some way and none need lay claim to being the chosen of the Lord.

Self admiration is always a dangerous thing in an individual. It is equally dangerous in the nation for it makes itself satisfied and indolent and the world passes by leaving it behind. We have little enough reason to be satisfied with our present lot, with many of our customs, with our excessive religiosity, with the lot of our women and the terrible condition of the masses. What good does it do us to waste our energy and our time in chanting praises of the dead past when the present claims our attention and work awaits us ? The world changes and is changing rapidly and if we cannot adapt our society to the new conditions we are doomed to perish. We have seen what can be done in a brief span of years and even months by a Kamal Pasha or an Amanullah who were not afraid to break through ancient customs and prejudices. What has been done in Turkey and backward Afghanistan can be done in India. But it can only be done in the manner of Kamal or Amanullah by fearlessly facing obstacles and removing them and not waiting till the crack of doom for slow reform. It is not a choice for you, as it was not a choice for Turkey or Afghanistan, between slow or rapid reform. It is a choice between extinction and immediate action. Turkey and Afghanistan chose the latter path and are reckoned to-day as great nations. What will your choice be ? \*

The world is in a bad way and India specially is in a

parlous state inspite of the glitter and superficial splendour of your great cities. There are rumours of war and awful prophecies that next war may bring in irretrievable disaster to civilization. But the very excess of evil may hasten the cure. Does not our own Gita state :

যদা যদাহি ধৰ্মস্য গ্লানির্বতি ভারত  
অভ্যুত্থানমধৰ্মস্য তদাত্মানম সংজ্ঞামহম্  
পরিগ্রাণায় সাধনাম বিনাশায় চ দুস্কৃতাম  
ধৰ্মসংস্থাপনায় সম্ভবামি যুগে যুগে

.....  
.....

Great men have come from age to age in this country and elsewhere to help mankind. But greater than any man is the idea which he has embodied. And the conception of *dharma* changes from age to age, and in a changing world, a custom that was good in past times may be perilous to society to-day. You do not go to Bombay in a bullock cart or fight with bows and arrows. Why stick to customs which were good only in the days of the bullock cart and bows and arrows?

And the great men who have come, have always been rebels against the existing order. Two thousand five hundred years ago the great Buddha proclaimed his gospel of racial equality and fought against all privileges, priestly and otherwise. He was a champion of the people against all who sought to exploit them. Then came another great rebel, Christ and then the prophet of Arabia, who did not hesitate to break and change almost everything he found. They were realists who saw that the world had out-grown its ancient practice and customs and sought to bring it back to reality. The *Avatars* of to-day are great ideas which come to reform the world. And the idea of the day is social equality. Let us listen to it and become its instruments to transform the world and make it a better place to live in.

I may be a weak instrument capable of doing little by myself inspite of my ardent desire to do much. And you individually may be able to do little. But you and I together

can do much and working with the awakened youths of this country, we can and will achieve. For youth only can save this country and the world. I do not admire the Fascists but I do admire them for having as their war cry, a hymn to youth "Giovinezza" and I wish you would also adopt their motto : "Live dangerously". Let our elders seek security and stability. Our quest must be adventure, but adventure in a noble enterprise which promises to bring peace to a distracted world and security and stability to the millions who have it not.

You and I are Indians and to India we owe much but we are human beings also and to humanity we also owe a debt. Let us be citizens of the commonwealth or empire of youths. That is the only empire to which we can own allegiance for that is the forerunner of the future federation of the world

## II

Sj. Subhas Ch. Bose's address at the ALL BENGAL STUDENTS' Conference, Calcutta, 1928, (September)

He assured the audience at the very outset that he had not come there to give any advice. He was there simply to express his gratification at the unqualified success which crowned the efforts of the organisers of the conference. It had been the dream of many of them for a long time past to hold such a conference of students. But the dream of theirs became a reality today through the selfless exertions of a band of students and he was proud to call himself a student not in the narrow sense—but in that wider sense in which he has just begun to take his lessons in the bigger university of life.

Nothing gave him greater pleasure continued Sj. Bose than the decision of the students of Bengal to invite Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to preside over their deliberations and the reason why the Pandit had come down from Mussourie to participate in their conference was that he (Mr. Bose) had assured Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru that the students of Bengal wanted him and that many of his ideas would find a ready response from the hearts of young Bengal. His judgment was correct and it was well that the Pandit had accepted the invitation.

Referring to Pandit's presidential address, Sj. Bose said that it had placed many new ideas and ideals before the students. In their calm moments they would do well to ponder over them—accepting some and rejecting others and there could be no doubt that the speech of the President had provided the students of Bengal with a very substantial food for reflection and he hoped they would profit by it.

Continuing Sj. Bose said that to him the most important problem of the day was as to how they could generate their energy which would infuse a new life into the dead bones of this inert nation, and usher in the birth of a renascent India. That was no doubt a difficult problem and when this problem first presented itself to him he was puzzled for a while and began to despair of glorious future for his motherland, because on the one side he saw cut-throat competition between virile nations and on the other, a weak and age-worn nation like the Indians. In the teeth of such hostile forces and unholy alliances, how could India, worn out by age, hope for the dawn of a better day?

There was a limit to the strength, physical and mental, of a nation, and after a few centuries that strength showed signs of decay and that meant the doom of the nation. This was the verdict of history—many civilisations of many ages had disappeared as a result of this process of decay. Whenever it was found that a nation was boasting of its past achievements and contributing nothing new to the sum total of human knowledge—when there was no new addition by it in the domain of thought or activity it had met with its doom.

Now where could be found that life-giving nectar which would rejuvenate such a dying nation? Scientists had suggested some remedies and one of them was to create a revolution in the world of thought and ideal of a dying nation and as result of the repercussion of these revolutionary ideas on the hide-bound superstitions of the people—there might emerge ideas and activities which proved to be the saviour of the nation.

In the case of their own country, it was found to be true. After the Vedic age—the country sank in the depths of degradation. Then came the revolutionary message of Lord Buddha as result of which the country seemed to recover its soul again. But this new message must touch that part of the nation's body where there was still the pulsation of life.

The ideal of freedom from alien bondage and that of social equality might revolutionise the present work-a-day ideas among the youths of the country.

Referring to the backwardness of our mother-hood, Sj. Bose regretted that at present about half the population of our country did not take any appreciable part in any progressive movement. The speaker referred to his Poona speech where he said that youth movement and women's movement ought to occupy two foremost planks in all their political platforms.

Speaking on Socialism, the speaker said that of the many forms of socialism prevalent, like State Socialism, Syndicalism and Guild Socialism, he was not prepared to go whole hog with any of these schools but he affirmed his faith in social and economic equality among man and man and would always plead for more equitable distribution of social capital. It was for the reason that he did his humble bit, for the labour classes of India. Many might think that socialism was from the West but it was not so. Ownership and distribution of property by the society was in vogue among the hill tribes of Shillong.

It was sometimes sought to be made out that Republicanism and Democracy were incompatible with the genius of the people of this country. The Earl of Ronaldshay once tried to prove this absurdity and went so far as to say that democracy is not for the people of the East. But the practice of electing their King by vote by the hill tribes of Shillong and other parts of India gave the lie direct to any such theory. These hillmen did not certainly learn the art of democracy by reading the books of Bentham, Mill and Herbert Spencer.

Professing to be a believer of Internationalism, Sj. Bose pointed out that he was not an advocate of that form of Internationalism which stood for merging of all the nations of the world into one. It did not at all appeal to him. There must be divergence in cultural traditions and ideal between a nation and nation—a dull uniformity of ideas and ideals all over the world was the last thing that he would desire to see.

Explaining the mission of India, at which some of the previous speakers had looked askance, Sj. Bose made it plain that it would not certainly follow the line of the Imperialist nations of the West—it would not be mission of the 'Jingoes' or of the Chauvinists either.

In winding up the address, Sj. Bose asked the young-men of the country to cultivate robust optimism and a spirit of self-reliance. The present might be dark and our hopes might not be fulfilled in the immediate future but beyond the veil of darkness lay hidden the glory of morning sun. If the youths of the country could realise the immense potentialities that they had in them this dismal gloom of the present would vanish and the victory would be theirs. (Forward 23-9-28)

### III

Opening speech of Dr. W. S. Urquhart at the All-Bengal Students Conference, September, 1928.

It is a pleasure to be permitted to open this conference today, because I feel that your having invited me to do so is a symbol of your goodwill as a body of students towards the University with which you are connected. You refuse to be deafened by the clamour of criticism which has sometimes assailed the University. You declare that in your opinion there ought to be and there can be harmonious relations between that type of authority which is embodied—I hope not petrified—in the University and less organised aspirations of the under graduate. You express your willingness to adopt and adapt a phrase recently used—if only the teachers of the University will forget for a moment how old they are, to forget also on your part, though it may be only for a shorter time, how young you are. You are willing at least to acknowledge the existence of older people. You are willing to make one or two experiments in pouring the new wine of life into the old bottles of academic experience, however apprehensive you may be that the old bottles may burst and spoil the contents. There are some who feel that the University ought to hold sternly aloof from such gatherings as these and regard them as signs of youthful exuberance and restlessness which deserve no recognition. Students, it may be said, should stick to their studies and leave talking alone. I confess that I do not share this view although I admit that sometimes there may be too much talking. I do not think that the nursery stage of training should be unduly prolonged and that on the principle that little children should

be seen and not heard, students who are so soon to be grown men and women, should be put in a corner and told to stay there quietly with their eyes glued to their books if indeed in the dim light of the recesses into which they are thrust, they can see even these books properly. I believe in the value of discussion and in the profitable results of the expression of varied opinion.

As I have only recently returned to Calcutta after a rather prolonged absence I am not familiar with all stages through which the preparations for this great gathering have passed but I am content to take the gathering as I find it today-- a vast concourse of youngmen with their gaze fixed earnestly on the future desiring above all things to give their service for the highest welfare of their community and anxious to find out what that highest welfare may be. And it is a great honour to be asked, as representing your University, to give the barque of the conference that slight push which will send it out from the shore and set it floating upon the free waters of discussion and debate. I hope that your voyaging may be over peaceful waters. I do not know in what directions you propose to sail and perhaps the discovery of these directions is just the task of your conference. In any case he who launches the vessel is not put in possession of a complete chart of its sailings. Nor should he in the least desire to usurp the functions of the commander or the pilot. I know that you will be under able and skilful guidance. I trust that under that guidance you will reach that desired haven, and that as a result of your reasoned and calm deliberations, that haven will be one which all who have the truest welfare of Bengal at heart will desire that you should arrive.

You have a varied programme. There are arrangements for music, recitation and debate and there is no knowing what topics of interest the Subjects Committee, in its prolonged deliberations, may produce for your discussion. Whatever these subjects may be, may I express the hope that in your discussion of them you will be true to the spirit of your University, the academic, the scientific, and the religious spirit. It is because I desire above all things that this spirit should be cherished that I have ventured to take up a few minutes of your time today. It seems to me that if a University in any land is to

remain coldly indifferent to the public questions of the day, it fastens upon the students an intolerable dilemma. It practically compels them either to take no part whatever in the discussion of living questions, or to determine beforehand that the part they will take will be one of utter and entire opposition to the presently constituted scheme of things in the University or in society as a whole. It leads in other words either to a dogmatism of cold inaction or to a equally undesirable dogmatism of unconsidered and impetuous action. Both extremes are to be avoided and it is the duty of the students of any University to make up their minds that they at all events will avoid such extremes. No one can in the long run prevent discussion of public questions, any more than he can keep back the tide of the ocean, and it seems to me that an University is missing a great opportunity if it stifles discussion. As Sir Michael Sadler said in a recent address—"No University is vigorous unless the minds of the young and the older members are thinking about fundamental things—God, Freedom and Duty to one's neighbour". But the important thing is how you are to think about these things. I beseech you to be loyal to the spirit of an University, to carry into your discussions the spirit of the student, to believe that it is possible to find out the truth in regard to great public problems, to admit that there are two sides to every question and it is your business to find out on which side the truth lies and having found it, to adhere resolutely to it, despite all opposition and temporary unpopularity. Great is Truth and will prevail—that ought to be the creed to which you should devote yourselves.

One word more. You are here to prepare yourselves for life, to be ready to take your places as leaders of the community. Do not too hastily bring that period of preparation to an end, and rush into actions which you have not had the opportunity of sufficiently considering. This is your time for pondering over problems and discovering the best means of solving them. It is not the time for you to rush to action before you have found the solution. Nor should any others condescend to make use of you before you have arrived at independent and free judgment for yourselves. If you cherish this spirit you will without doubt arrive at a solution of your problems—but only if you cultivate the spirit, you may find a

way of activity which are at present hidden from the eyes of those who are older and I would say that when under the guidance of God and in the exercise of your own power of deliberation you do discover these ways, it should not be the part of your seniors to create obstacles to your entering on these hitherto untried ways. Meanwhile in all freedom of thought, in all discipline of spirit, in all respect for the past, consideration of the present and loyalty to the future, prepare, prepare, prepare for the days of action which will come to you at a later stage of your life, when you will be sent out of the University to become the responsible leaders of your country in its progress, towards all that is true and beautiful and good. Prepare, I say, with open mind. Prove all things and hold fast to your souls that which is good. Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever are lovely. . . . .—think about them calmly, but also with enthusiasm for individual and social ideals, deliberate upon them, make them your own and so live according to them that your country will be the better for your conferring together.

I have very much pleasure in declaring this conference open, I hand over the charge to your honourable President praying that all success may attend your deliberations and that they may hasten the dawning of new and better day for the students of Bengal and for your University for which even with all the defects which you are frequently ready to point out, you cherish a deep and I hope a growing affection.

#### IV

Resolutions of the All-Bengal Students' Conference, September, 1928.

1. This conference records its support to the Calcutta University Bill which has been introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council by Dr. P. N. Banerji and requests the members of the Council to support it.
2. This conference requests the students to use Swadeshi goods even if their prices may be higher than foreign substitutes.
3. This conference repudiates the theory of Trusteeship of the British Parliament and considers the appointment of

Simon Commission as an act of invasion of the rights of the people of India and condemns those members of the Assembly and of provincial Councils who have voted for the appointment of the committees to co-operate with the Simon Commission.

4. This conference records its full support to the attempts being made to raise the age of marriage and the age of consent by legislation.

5. This conference condemns the Public Safety Bill, Trade Disputes Bill and the Press Bill introduced in the Assembly.

6. This conference requests the University authorities and the Government of Bengal to recognise the right of representation of the students in the Senates of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities.

7. This conference is of opinion that every effort should be made to make Hindusthani the national language of India.

8. This conference condemns the action of the District Magistrate of Maldah who in collaboration with the Headmaster of the Zillah school, a few teachers and guardians, declared the Saraswati Library organised by the students as an objectionable association.

9. This conference requests the various Railway authorities to make arrangements for student's touring cars at reduced fares.

10. This conference requests the students over 18 years of age to enrol themselves as members of Indian National Congress.

11. This conference condemns the action the Government has taken and continues to take under the Ordinance of 1924 and Regulation III of 1818.

12. This conference of the students supports the ideal of complete independence in contradiction to the principle of Dominion Status.

13. This conference requests the authorities to introduce compulsory military training for the students.

Resolutions recommending free and compulsory primary education among villagers, demanding the release of Kharag Bahadur and for organising a volunteer corps were also passed unanimously.

Sj. Satya Ranjan Ghatak moved a resolution disapproving the existence of communal educational institutions as they were detrimental to the healthy growth of nationalism.

It was seconded by Sj. Abdul Majid and carried.

A resolution condemning the ammended Bengal Tenancy Act was moved by Mr. Abdul Aziz and carried.

## V

### SJ. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE HOOGHLY DISTRICT STUDENTS' CONFERENCE ON 23rd JULY, 1929.

Mr. Chairman of the Reception committee and students,

You know best why you have called me to this conference of students to-day. But so far as I am concerned, the reason why I have felt the inclination or rather the courage to come to this conference is that I still consider myself a student like yourselves. I study the "Vedas of Life" carefully and at the present moment engaged in gathering the knowledge that comes to a man through the hard knocks of experience of the real life.

Every single nation or individual has got a special trait or ideal. He (the individual) shapes his life in accordance with that ideal. It becomes the sole object of his life to realise that ideal as fully as possible. And minus that ideal his life becomes absolutely meaning-less and unnecessary. Just as in the case of the individual the pursuit of an ideal continues through long years, so also in the case of the nation it works from generation to generation. That is why the wise people say that an ideal is not lifeless and motionless entity. It has got speed, locomotion and lifegiving power.

We may not always succeed in catching a glimpse of the ideal that has been trying to unfold itself in our society for the last one hundred years ; but he who is thoughtful and endowed with real insight can certainly detect the general trend of this ideal behind all visible phenomena, like the steady subterranean flow of the river Falgoo. And it is this ideal which constitutes the idea of the age. When a man attains a complete perception

of this ideal, he can easily find out his destination and his guide on the way. But because this perception does not always come to use, we pretty often run after mistaken ideals and follow false prophets. Students, if you really want to shape your lives to some purpose, then protect yourselves by all means from the influence of false guides and mistaken ideal and make your own settled choice of your own ideal in life.

The ideal that used to enthuse the students of Bengal, say fifteen years ago, was the ideal of Swami Vivekananda. Under the hypnotic spell of that glorious ideal, the Bengali youth went in with grim determination for a life of purity and spiritual power freed from all taint of selfishness and shabbiness. At the root of the construction of the society and the nation lies the unfoldment of individuality. That is why Swami Vivekananda was never tired of repeating that 'man making' was his mission.

When a new era was ushered in our country before the age of Vivekananda, Raja Rammohan Roy was our guide. From the age of Rammohan onwards the desire for freedom in India has been manifesting itself through all sorts of movements. And when in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth the soul stirring message of Swami Vivekananda—"FREEDOM, FREEDOM is the song of the soul" burst the locked gates of Swamiji's heart and came forth in a flood of irresistible might, the whole country caught it up and nearly went mad.

Swami Vivekananda it was who had, on the one hand, boldly asked his fellowmen to shed all sorts of fetters and be a man, at the truest sense of the term, and on the other hand, laid the foundation of true nationalism in India by preaching the essential unity of all religions and sects. But the image of freedom, whole and entire that we come across in Vivekananda, had not been reflected in the realm of politics of his age.

It was in the mouth of Aurobindo that we heard the message of political freedom for the first time. And when Aurobindo wrote in the columns of the "Bande Mataram" "We want complete autonomy free from British control"—the freedom loving Bengali youth could feel that at last he had got the man of his heart.

Having thus received the impetus to complete indepen-

dence, the Bengali people had been forging ahead, making light of all obstacles and stumbling blocks on the way. And when we come down to the year 1921, along with the message of non-cooperation, we get another thing from the lips of Mahatma Gandhi : "There can be no Swaraj without the masses and until we rouse a hunger for freedom amongst them." This potent message became clearer still in the life of Deshbondhu Chittaranjan. In the course of his Lahore speech, he very clearly declared that the kind of Swaraj that he wanted, was not for the few but for all, for the masses in general. The ideal of "Swaraj for the masses" was put up by him at the All-India Labour Conference.

We get another message exemplified in the life of Deshbandhu. It is this : The life of man—that of a nation as well as of an individual—is a piece of immutable truth. It is not possible to divide this life into two or more watertight compartments. When the life of a man thickens into consciousness, we get ample proofs of this new awakening from all sides, and pulsations of a new life are felt all round. The world—and so the life of man—is full of diversity. If we kill this diversity, there will be no fulfilment of life ; we shall rather bring ourselves nearer to death or destruction by so doing. That is why the unfoldment of both the nation and the individual has to be achieved through this diversity, through the "many".

The unity which Rāmkrishna and Vivekananda established between the "one" and the "many" in the spiritual world, Deshbandhu achieved or at least tried to achieve, in the life of the nation and in the political sphere. In one word he believed in a "Federation of Cultures" and in the realm of politics, he liked a Federal state for India better than a centralised state.

The alround development and self—fulfilment in which Deshbandhu so firmly believed, is the ideal of the present age. If we want to make this "Sadhana" fruitful, we shall first of all have to visualise an unbroken image of independence in our minds. Unless a man can realise his ideal wholly and completely, he can never hope to come out victorious in the battle of life. That is why it has become so necessary to tell all India and specially the youth of the country, that in the Free India of which we are dreaming, everybody is free—free from all kinds of shackles, social, political, and economic.

Today I have come to tell this one thing to the student community here—that the idea of the age in which you are born is the attainment of complete and all-round freedom. Our people want to live, grow and have their being in a free country and in the midst of a free atmosphere. We need not take fright at the idea of independence. Our claim to independence is nothing but the right to make mistakes. So let us not get upset by a night-mare vision of chaos which may or may not follow the attainment of political salvation by us. Let us have an abiding faith in ourselves and go forward to snatch our birth right from unwilling hands.

In our country three large communities are lying absolutely dominant ; these are the women, the depressed classes and the labouring masses. Let us go to them and say—"You also are human beings and shall obtain the fullest rights of men. So arise, awake, and shed your attitude of inactivity and sanctify your legitimate rights."

You students and youngmen of Bengal, be you all the votaries of complete independence. You are the inheritors of future India. It is therefore upto you to take upon yourselves the task of reawakening and galvanizing the whole nation. Go out in your thousands into the remote villages and corners of Bengal and preach the lifegiving message of equality and freedom to all and sundry. The picture of freedom which I have just held before your eyes must, in its turn, be held by you before the whole country. Go forward in the right spirit and your victory is absolutely certain. Let your *SADHANA* be fruitful in good result—let India be free again—and let your lives be crowned with glory and renown.

#### BANDE MATARAM

#### VI

Presidential address of Dr. Mahammad Alam at the All Bengal Students Conference, Mymensingh, Sept.—Oct. 1929.

Oh, my young mates of the prison,

Allow me to address you in your true status and do not blame me for my cold frankness. Your status today as well

as mine in our own country is no better than that of a prisoner and differences in our age make no distinction in it." In these words I had once before addressed a Muslim gathering at Karachi. I borrow this phrase from Joseph the prophet who used it centuries ago. . . .

But how does a jail prisoner stand different from a political slave? Imprisonment has very little to take into account of walls of stones and mortar and limitation of space which may vary under different circumstances. Imprisonment in its essence means that condition of mind which is produced by such limitations and restraints upon the liberty of speech and movements as will not allow an individual to speak or act according to his free will. Incarceration connotes these disabilities which confine both the conscience and the will within the groove.

In this connection the fetters of iron and prison wall provide us with a community of equal status. I fail to understand how this community is ignored by those who to their best but meanest advantage preach communalism ; it is the community of political slavery which makes my interest common with you and our efforts to show this shameful status constitutes the noblest form of communalism. . . . This is my communalism and this ought to be your communalism. Let us sacrifice all that we possess at the altar of this communalism and go straight to the goal avoiding falls into sidepits of narrow and misconceived religious communalism. My conviction is that the life of a political slave is far worse than that of slaves in the ordinary sense. It affects most injuriously all the aspects of his life.

I had lost my grammar and idiom in the pain of bewilder-  
ness which I have been feeling at the slavery of my motherland,  
but I am proved guilty today of breach of etiquette as well.  
I absolutely forgot to express my gratitude to you youngmen  
and women of Bengal, for conferring a real great honour upon  
me, in asking me to preside over your deliberations today. I  
wondered why you did so. I lay no claim to leadership in the  
country and feel proud enough to remain an ordinary soldier  
in the field fighting for the freedom of my country. You have  
therefore done me an undeserved honour. The act is extreme-  
ly generous on your part but there may be reasons to prompt  
you to it. The martyrdom of Jatin Das has created a new

relation between Bengal and the Punjab which were respectively the first and the last to fall into subjugation of an isolent system of foreign bureaucratic government and in electing an humble servant of the country from the latter province, you have further revered the memory of Das, the selfless hero of India. In accepting the honour and respecting your sentiments, my sense of duty overcame my weakness.

Das, ah, Das—I cannot recollect myself to talk about him. I know not whether to grieve or rejoice over his death. And why call it Death? His death was but a gate to perpetual and eternal life and he also taught us how contemptuously one could treat life if it were wanted to be sacrificed for a noble cause. Who says Das is dead? Come to the Punjab and I shall show him to you living in every heart. His soul is working in the Punjab but his body which we sent for cremation to you produced those flames. . . wherein I can visualise the tottering of the mightiest Imperialism of the world. Let me assure you, comrades, this division of his body and soul has produced that cohesion between the two provinces, that they shall both march together regardless of the sacrifices and consequences, as one man to the goal of freedom and they shall take no pause . . . till the freedom of India does not become an established fact . . . Providence has joined them so by the link of death of Das that they shall break out of the foreign yoke together and simultaneously ; at the same time carrying within their fold the rest of India. This is why the great hero of Bengal sacrificed his life in the Punjab where the All-India National Congress intends to declare a final battle with the bureaucracy. Das before the thirteenth of September, the day of his socalled death was Das of the country but since then thirty-two crores of this country are 'Das', who shall worship his name with reverence. History shall record Das as the greatest of his time and his status will be adored in every city of free India.

Bengal has by this time produced two great Dases and I do not think that it needs the life of a third Das before the dawn of salvation of this country. They both died in full harness, while serving the country—one made us start on the road of non-violent non-cooperation and the other—whilst our forces were demoralised and disheartened although nearing the

goal—gave us practical lesson of the same principle by the extreme sacrifice of his life to put us onto the goal of victory. Our beloved Das was not proved guilty of any violent act and we can justly acquit him of this charge. The sacrifice he made in elevating the status of political prisoners was a service to humanity and not to India alone. His name should therefore be worshipped by the world at large and not only by Indians of today or tomorrow. I shall always consider myself a fortunate man for the greatest privilege of giving my shoulder first to the bier of that great hero when his martyred body changed its place from the employees of the bureaucracy to its lovers. I actually kissed my shoulder because it was blessed for supporting the bier of an Indian martyr, the first of his type. Others commenced hunger-strike earlier than Das but the Almighty reserved glory for him alone. Unlike McSwiney of Ireland, Das was immediately followed in his foot-step by many others and in the same cause. This is the best proof of the sincerity of his heart and the sanctity of his purpose.

I cannot talk much longer about Das even if I wished to but let me tell you that I shall never forgive this Government for the bail-fraud which was practised by their officials. Two men, who were as unknown to us as to Das and his brother, were produced to stand sureties for the release of Das a few days before the latter's death. Their security was accepted after Court hours and although Das refused to sign his release bond, he was carried outside the jail and the representatives of the public were asked to remove him therefrom. The latter and Kiron Das, the brave brother of the deceased warrior refused to take him in their possession on bail. Das who was almost a dead man was then taken inside the jail gates again. Such treatment with a dying man by those representing the Government shall always remain a stigma on them never to be forgotten by us.

Anyhow Das has knitted together Bengal and Punjab for centuries to come. The illuminating sun rose in the East and set in the West, and just near the setting place a new moon has arisen in the horizon shedding a brilliant light in the dark night of India's bondage. This son of Bengal has thus given a new light . . . Walk by this light. The dawn of freedom is not far off.

Youngmen, Do you know the last wishes of Das and its significance? A few days before he parted from us he wished his brother to perform his funeral ceremony at Kalibari at Lahore, a place meant for this purpose for the Bengal Hindus. But just a short time before his death he changed his mind and requested that his body should not be taken there because his body did not belong to Bengal but to the whole of India. In this one single sentence he cut through at the very root of provincialism and communalism. This is the last legacy of Das who died an Indian and it is for the young folk of India and particularly of Bengal to work upon it to their last breath as the legacy left by the deceased.

Young friends : it is not the occasion to make or hear speeches. A great battle for the freedom of India is in sight and we are left no time to prepare ourselves for it. The Congress has thrown an open challenge to the Bureaucracy and the fate of India is to be decided on the 31st December, 1929 in the Punjab. We have made the last offer to Government in terms of Dominion Status and the choice lies with them. The Congress is pledged to work for complete independence of India from the fateful day of January 1, 1930. The old order will change giving place to new on the morning of the new year and requires no prophet to foretell the future happenings in India. What the Congress will demand from us all in case the offer is not accepted by the Government is not known to me. This is for commanders to decide. I rank myself with you, amongst soldiers only. I should only be prepared to lay my life and property at the disposal of the commanders and await the orders in full obedience. You may have to quit your college immediately and I may be ordered to suspend my practice again.

I cannot anticipate these orders because I am not in a position to do so, but even if I could I am so busy in my preparations that I have not a moment to lose in such thoughts. I however know of two things and can reveal them to you. The brunt of the fight shall be borne by the youth of India, and the weapon to be adopted shall be non-violent. I am staunch advocate of non-violence and I believe in it not because I am a prophet or a saint or a Mahatma to be terrified at the sight of blood but because India does not possess any other effective

weapon for use. Even if it did I believe that a programme of non-violence if properly carried can prove more effective. . . . and less dangerous to human life. . . . .

Your first step to this preparation must be to abolish communalism from this country in every shape and form. Up with arms against this greatest enemy of India with the fullest strength and vigour of youth. To revolt and rebel, I have often said, is a privilege of youth and you have got it. But revolt against this communalism and remove this pernicious evil. This demon has eaten up every fibre of our body-politic and it must be annihilated now. We can tolerate it no longer. Let the young men of India boldly face their worst foe and kill it before the first of January, 1930. You can then ask for anything and it is yours. You have to change the mentality of the whole country and it is not an easy task. The poison of communalism is so sweet that the more we eat of it, the more we like to have it in greater quantity. Every one of us seems to have a substantial touch of it but we do not realise it. Many of our National leaders even are not free from this contagion and I have often observed that many who talk against communalism are themselves badly affected by it though unconsciously perhaps.

Friends, we have been fighting too long over methods of killing a ghost whilst others have been busy to conquer forces of nature. We have carried the humbug of communalism too far. Your national conscience should revolt at the communal division of the free gifts of nature. Wont you feel ashamed when you hear cries of "HINDU PANI" and "MUSSALMAN KHANA" at the railway stations? What next? When do you propose dividing air into "HINDU HOWA" and "MUSSALMAN HOWA"? Stick to your religion with the greatest pleasure and do not prove false in your relation with the maker. Religion is not antagonistic with nationalism or love of the country. Your president of the last annual session preached to you the spirit of Commonwealth of Nations. I am satisfied at present with a smaller idea in your preparation for the next great battle for the freedom of India. Produce nationalism in the country and banish communalism there from. Religion has got nothing with it. The controversy whether you belong first to religion or the country is not only

fallacious but mischievous as well, because it produces a corrupt mentality. You can as much belong to both as a child is an offspring of a father and a mother too. Communalism as understood in India is a misconception altogether. Religion is not necessarily to be the only community between rational beings. Communalism here we get by inheritance, it is developed in denominational institutions, fostered by separate electorates and patronised by the Government. We are living in a vicious circle and transmit the evils to our generations.

Rebel, revolt and fight against this terrible mentality which is the only barrier, insurmountable as it seems, in our way of salvation. The Nehru Committee report has made a partial attempt to kill this obnoxious communalism but the remedy is not complete. Let us declare that we refuse to believe in communal rights in any shape or form and a constitution drafted by the young generation of India will not recognise them at all. It is no use playing hide and seek. Say, either communalism or no communalism. The only solution of communal rights lies not in their adjustment but in their total abolition. "Down with communalism" is the cry which must precede the cry "Down with Bureaucracy", if Indians are at all earnest in their intentions.

What I am telling you in words, the great Das dictated you in action, and unless you succeed in changing this mentality of the country as a preparation for the great fight ahead of us in the year, *Swarajya*, Dominion Status, or even improvement of the present status . . . is an impossible dream.

Nationalism at heart and Khaddar dress on the body are the two requisites for the national soldiers to the next fight for freedom. . . . The first wave of a non-violent revolutionary movement in the shape of non-cooperation passed long ago without reaching the mark. The second wave is in sight and is expected to carry us ashore. Will you prepare yourselves as national soldiers for the coming fight and produce the requisites in yourselves?

Onwards, young friends, glory awaits you with a smiling face: . . . . We will meet frequent reverses in our fight with the bureaucracy. Victory will come once and it shall be final in itself.

Prepare yourselves for the great fight . . . Await orders of the commanders on the 1st of January, 1930.

May God lead you to bold thoughts and brave actions.

### BANDEMATARAM

## VII

The following is a free translation of the speech delivered in Bengali by Sj. Rebati Burman, Chairman of the Reception Committee, All-Bengal Students Conference which opened at Mymensingh on the 30th September, 1929. (Reproduced from Liberty of 5-10-1929.)

The throb of a new life is felt today in this populous town of ours. And the welcome showers of the monsoon, followed by all the charms of an ideal autumn, bring solace to minds and bodies long tortured by the summer sun. It is by being backed by your goodwill that this function has attained success,—the success that is the source of our gratification.

Very modestly do we proceed in our celebrations—no pomp and splendour for us. But still it is the greatest of all our great occasions. All our wants, all the failings of our individual lives have vanished to-day. The current of life has swept away all barriers and our diseased body and mind have become bright, joyous and mobile by the touch of the many.

Your sturdy, determined steps have surmounted the once unscalable obstacles before the Youth of Bengal. The examples set forth in your sacrifices send us along to self-immolation . . . we have come to realise the blessings and powers of humanity. Victory to you all. Accept our love and homage.

Only a part of the great task so reverantly undertaken by the World's Youth, seeks its realisation in us. I do not know how far we will be successful, in our mission. I shall only try to place the key in your hands.

### REVOLT AND PROGRESS

History does not chronicle in what dim primeval age Man launched himself upon life's highway. But he gained prominence as he has always been a creator of things. True, he did

not succeed in making anything to equal the wondrous creations of the Universe, but his movements, his language, his associations, spread of his knowledge and ideas and finally his attempts at curbing nature and controlling his environments —satisfied to some extent this inherent craving of his for creation.

The scope of man's activity spread age after age. What one generation accomplished, the next built upon. Such is the story of his progress, and we can know him only through his creations and discoveries. His inspiration he derives from a thirst for victory, a striving after the shaking off of Nature's shackles, in other words, Revolt. If Man did not want to Revolt, all his cravings for creations would have been imprisoned within the four walls of an useless imagination, and curbed by the impositions of grim reality. We have just begun to appreciate all this. This same Revolt has helped man in his onward march through the succession of ages of stone and iron to the present age of machinery. Revolt is the keynote of all social truths and what society has succeeded in accomplishing has always been through revolt.

But revolt did not succeed in delineating its course so easily. First of all, the lust for victory found expression in the establishment of empires and religions. It ended in the subjugation of nations and bringing them under slavery, so that in time slavery came to be regarded as an established system rather than man's innovation. It gave rise to the greatest of all problems of which the people of the world seek eagerly the solution to-day. Religion gradually narrowed the wide expanse of eternal truth and was used as a means to an end by interested and self-seeking persons.

With the ushering of the age of Culture, man began to ask himself if the ever increasing complications of Society did really bring any good. Slavery was defended as being necessary to economic welfare, caste system as making the acquisition of religion the easier and the creation of Nobility as facilitating the work of Government. But all these systems have brought heaps of evils in their wake. Rigours of society have curtailed the individual freedom of man and Government being in the hands of a few people, both society and the people suffer.

### THE BIG QUESTION OF THE DAY

The big question of the life of man today is—How were its ideals lost sight of, giving rise thereby to such confusion? No answer has yet been vouchsafed by anybody, not even by Comte, Conrad, Rabindranath, Marx, Bismarck or Lenin. But Lenin, Sun Yat Sen and Kamal Pasha are all exponents of the doctrine of evolution through revolution.

The recognition of the individual rights of man was never before acquired through revolution in the fullest sense of the term as has been done during the present age. The Jacobin revolution in France, the Saxon rebellion against Henry the Second and the German peasant insurrection during the life time of Luther, all bear testimony to this. In England, too, the clash of steel was heard in the hands of Cromwell, Pynn and Hampden and they gained their particular points but with what lasting and tangible results for the individual? And the problem remained.

Then came the great upheavals in the domain of politics and economics, the former took place in France which destroyed the machinery of Government and the latter in England bringing about great economic changes. The economic revolution changed the face of the world. People began to think in terms of merchandise. Rich people got richer, while their greed brought into being a class of hungry vagabonds. Wealth began to be amassed under the direction of Capitalists and the peaceful hub of life's activities was shattered.

It is true that the message of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity began to spread as the direct result of the French Revolution, but history fails to record if any solution of lasting effect was furnished thereby.

### WORLD'S DEBT TO GERMANY

At about this time a new movement of individual and social uplift was inaugurated in Germany. With the philosophers Kant and Nietschze on one side and the poets Goethe and Schiller on the other, messages of greatness of life and its inherent beauties were broadcast on every side, the nation then being in the throes of despondency owing to the heavy

defeat at the hands of Napolean. The diplomacy of Bismarck, too, helped the German people take heart again. But there was one single flaw, arrogance. Yet the world will for ever acknowledge the debt to Germany, for she has been fountain head of all social upheavals. The teachings of Marx, the outcome of a whole life spent in the cause, are now in burning letters before our eyes. Every form of revolution today is but a fulfilment of Marxism and Leninism, the main idea of which is to organise society and humanity on a mass basis, annihilating the devilry which created barriers between man and man and destroyed social unity. Man will be worth his name only when he starts from the solid basis of equality towards the goal of unity. The inherent power of every man, suppressed for so long, would then find an outlet and instead of being a handicap to individual aspiration, Society would grow to be the living source thereof.

#### EUROPE AFTER THE WAR

These new social doctrines have brought a revolution in Europe after the last War. With the advent of the nineteenth century, sociology (socialism?) took root in Europe. Its aim is to create perfect manhood by bringing about relations of amity between the State, the Society and the Individual. The State should suspend for a time the exercise of its powers of oppression and take up the work of educating, housing and bettering the economic condition of the people. The deceased and the decrepit should find an asylum to spend their days in comfort. The State should liberate those who are bound down by oppression of social customs. Doctrines of sociology (socialism?) can never recognise caste distinction, untouchability, supremacy of Mohunts or the Devdashi system. Shastric injunctions and the logic of Pundits can no longer impede the onward march of Youth. But there is of course the need of caution.

Friends, I have only put before you the thoughts that assail and trouble my mind. I welcome you with the story of revolt, I am not strong enough to give you a message.

I hope that our Chairman (President?) installed in the sacred seat of leadership will make this celebration of ours a

success. All glory to this fraternal gathering. BANDE MATARAM\*

## VIII

Extracts from the opening speech of Prof. C. R. Reddy at the third All Bengal Students Conference, North Calcutta, 1931.

Historically speaking, Mr. Reddy said, "The seeds of our regeneration were first sown in Bengal by Swami Vivekananda, the greatest synthetic thinker of modern times. Aurobindo Ghose directly inaugurated the movement during the partition agitation."

Reviewing the present political situation, Mr. Reddy remarked that whatever other things the Gandhi movement might have done, it had raised India in the estimation of the world. Mahatma Gandhi had been today more than a world figure and he was a world factor.

What should be the contribution of students to this movement, Mr. Reddy said :

The first question is—Are you convinced that you should make a contribution? The precept of exclusive concentration on studies is fundamentally wrong and if you remain for four long years thinking and feeling but never acting, you will only qualify for a first class degree in hypocrisy, a commodity already sufficiently plentiful in the country.

Parasitism and patriotism are hardly identical questions. You are living in times pregnant with the fate of our Motherland. If success crowns our efforts and Dominion Status is really achieved, the gain will be yours and not of the elder generations. . . .

Over three thousands members of your Association—over three thousands young men supposed in the threshold of life, have gone to jail in connection with the movement. It takes my breath away. But at the same time it fills me with the spirit of confidence in the future of Bengal and India.

\*We could not procure the printed copy of the address in Bengali and cannot vouch for the correctness of the translation which appears to be defective.

## IX

Extracts from the Presidential address of Sm. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya at the third session of the All Bengal Students Conference, North Calcutta, March, 1931. (from Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7-3-1931).

Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, President elect of the conference began her speech by saying that the controversy whether the students should join politics or not, was a thing of the past. She quoted Lord Curzon and said that according to him politics was the contemporary history and education itself demanded that the students have keen interest in politics. In India where politics was like the life and death problem of the people, to ask students not to take interest in politics was stupidity. She asked students to create new ideology and pointed out that the country and its people could be judged by its artistic output. India's contribution, in the past, to world culture was no doubt dazzling and immortal and she hoped that in future that contribution would be still more dazzling and greater. She was for the revival of art in life which was not a luxury but consisted of giving a touch of beauty to small homely objects that came to daily use. She hoped that in future the State itself would realise the importance of beauty as much as cleanliness.

She asked for a new social order and to organise a vigorous party for peasants' and worker's well being. When that was done she was confident that communal problem would be much easier of solution.

There was a tendency, said she, of sidetracking the social issues and she referred to the demand of the depressed classes for temple entry. That was only one aspect of the whole social system based upon exploitation. The students should fight against the whole system and remove the difference between man and man having at its behind religious sanction. . . .

Proceeding she said, when a mass movement was organised for capturing power for the masses', it could be laid only to one condition where not merely the average student but the man in the street will have gone into his own. She did not hold this out as a dreamy promise a rosy golden hue but if each student could work it out for himself in terms of elementary economics

he would discover that she was making a very sane and matter of fact statement. It was a very small and temporary sacrifice that they were asked for. Students have vision and could see far ahead and therefore they could not fail to realise whether it was not beneficial, to all humanity in the long run if they undergo a small sacrifice for a small period so that millions of might live to see joy in life instead of dragging an existence which was nothing but an agony from day to day. Suffering and sacrifice were the two magic coins that freedom demanded from everyone of them.

## X

Resolutions passed at third All Bengal Students Conference. Prof. C. V. Raman and Prof. Radhakrishnan were congratulated.

This third session of the All-Bengal Students Conference after thorough perusal of the terms of agreement arrived at between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi has come to this definite conclusion that the terms in no way come up to the expectations of the youth of Bengal and no settlement is acceptable to them unless all the political prisoners irrespective of their policy or creed are immediately released. This Conference views with disapproval that the terms do not contain any specific reference to the release of detenues under Bengal and Burma Ordinances and others convicted in different conspiracy trials and those whose fates are hanging in the balance in different law courts throughout India and the return of the exiles.

This Conference demands that the Bengal government should appoint a committee of impartial public-spirited gentlemen to hold enquiry into the alleged excesses in the district of Midnapore and other districts of Bengal and also into alleged police assaults on students participating in the civil disobedience movement.

This conference condemns the University authorities of Dacca and Calcutta for their inability to afford sufficient protection to the persons of the students as proved on various occasions during the past few months.

Another resolution was adopted demanding the commutation of the death sentences passed on Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev

and Rajguru of the Punjab and Dinesh Gupta, Kalipada Chakrabarty and Ramkrishna Biswas of Bengal.

Srijukta. Mira Sarker then moved the following resolution : "This conference of the students of Bengal expresses its desire to urge upon the All Bengal Students Association the desirability of proper co-ordination and harmony amongst students organisations now working separately with a view to concentrate all the energy of the students on the task of national uplift."

Sj. Sachindra Nath Mitra on behalf of the A.B.S.A. accepted the resolution and it was passed.

This Conference requests students all over Bengal to lend their full support to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress in their efforts to secure "Purna Swaraj" for the country and requests them in this connection to secure the release of all detenues and political prisoners and commutation of sentences of death passed on accused persons including Dinesh Gupta, Ramkrishna Biswas, Bhagat Singh, Sukdev and Rajguru.

This Conference disapproves the religious celebrations in educational institutions.

## XI

### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ALL BENGAL STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

March, 1931

#### INTRODUCTION

MADAM PRESIDENT, LADIES, GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW DELEGATES,

We have great pleasure to place before you, the Annual Report of the working of the All Bengal Students' Association. The outgoing Working Committee, which was elected in Nov., 1929, had to shoulder the responsibilities for an unusually long period of time. This has been due to the peculiar situation in the country for which an earlier general election was not possible. Nor has it been possible to hold the Conference in due time and due place. The Murshidabad District Students' Association which invited the conference could not make necessary arrangements owing to a dearth of responsible workers.

The District Students' Association plunged heart and soul in the great national movement and it was not long before all the leading members of the Association found themselves in jail. The D.S.A. therefore intimated their inability to hold the conference to the Working Committee of the A.B.S.A. in December last and the Working Committee after prolonged deliberations, decided to accept the invitation of the North Calcutta D.S.A. for holding the Conference early in 1931. The circumstances which have caused such dislocation of normal routine are beyond our control, and we therefore offer no apologies for the same. Again, the report which we present to you to-day is far from complete. The office of the A.B.S.A. and those of the D.S.A.s were under the constant vigil of the police. Whenever and wherever they came, they took away with strictest impartiality, even the most trifling scrap of paper. So, some of the most essential records are missing and we can present you with only a fragmentary report.

#### THE SPLIT

The record of the working of the A.B.S.A. must begin with the regrettable incidents of the Mymensingh Conference and its after effects. We have no intention to dig up old quarrels but a brief account of the sequence of events so prejudicial to the young movement and a statement of our present position seems to be quite unavoidable. Apparently the quarrel arose out of the election of the President of the Mymensingh session of the Conference. The President, as you all know, is virtually elected by the vote of D.S.A.s, the Reception Committee being constitutionally bound to elect one who receives the largest number of nominations. But though Dr. Muhammad Alam of Lahore received the nomination from 9 Districts and Sj. S. C. Bose that from 6 Districts, the Reception Committee very curiously elected Sj. Bose the President and in spite of strong protests from the Working Committee of the A.B.S.A. showed no desire to change their decision. The Working Committee had then no other alternative but to inform Sj. Bose of the whole situation and very naturally he withdrew from the unenviable position. The impasse thus brought about by the indiscretion of the Reception Committee at Mymensingh, was

the cause of some ill-feeling amongst the more ardent followers of Sj. Bose. This together with the undercurrents of Bengal party politics, led away a section of the students from their allegiance to the parent body and a new Association thus came into existence. We believe it most earnestly that the seceders would not have gone on such an unwise course of action, had they not been encouraged by a group of persons whose ambition was political power. It is unnecessary to go into details, the whole situation being fully discussed in a pamphlet issued by the old Working Committee. The political influences at work are clearly indicated by the papers 'Liberty' and 'Bangabani'. The two papers which had all along been enthusiastic supporters of the young movement and its promoter, suddenly changed its front just on the eve of the Mymensingh Conference (after Sj. Bose had withdrawn) and was soon wallowing in a mire of abusive languages against the then office-bearers of the Association. However these disquieting days are now past and the time has come to review the whole situation critically and dispassionately. During this long interval there has been several unsuccessful negotiations for rapprochement. We need not go into all these in details for, except the latest attempt to which we shall presently refer, none was authorised or considered with any seriousness by both the parties. The latest negotiations for a compromise, initiated a few months ago in the Alipur Central Jail, should be referred to in some detail. Apart from all entanglements of constitutional talks, the terms proposed by the B.P.S.A. were these: the Executive of the amalgamated Association should be composed of equal number of representatives of both Associations and the Presidentship should go to a member of the B.P.S.A. We did not see our way to consider such proposals, as apart from all other considerations, we are opposed on principle to such a basis of compromise which instead of removing cliques furthers them. Moreover, even the most commendable modesty on our part, cannot prevent us from putting forward that the All Bengal Students' Association is a body incomparably more representative of the students of Bengal. The proposed proportion in the Executive is therefore fair neither to us nor to the intelligence of the general body of students. Therefore we proposed another and a more rational basis for compromise. We suggested that the Executive body

of the amalgamated Association should be elected in a general election throughout the Province, the members of both parties would then have to face the general body of students and those enjoying real confidence of the Student Community will alone be entrusted with the working of the Association. Such an arrangement as is evident, constitutes the most straight forward way for a compromise. However, we have not yet been able to make the other party agree to this formula. In course of subsequent negotiations also, our friends always insisted on the reservation of seats in the Executive and even increased their demands by asking for a joint secretaryship in addition to the office of the President. There was another point for which the prospects of compromise do not seem to be at all rosy. The B.P.S.A. has given out that we must agree to a change of name of the Association. Our point of view is that our friends have seceded from the parent association of which they were all members and to which they all intend to come back on certain conditions. There can be no harm in the name and no cause for offence. So their insistence on a change of name does not seem to us at all reasonable.

## THE RECORD OF WORK

### PERIOD I-UPTO APRIL 6TH

The cloudy atmosphere of dispute and strife with which the period under review was inaugurated, was not at all congenial to the normal constructive activities of the Association. Only those who have any experience of it would alone understand how difficult it is to maintain a fighting front and carry on constructive work at the same time. In spite of this we never failed to exert our fullest to achieve something tangible and though it may not be considered anything like satisfactory, it is still not inconsiderable. A number of extension lectures were arranged specially on the Adult Education Movement, many meetings of the Study Circle organised and several sittings of the Students' Parliament were held in the University. Among those who very kindly helped us by their presence and advice, in these functions were Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta, Prof. Pramatha Nath Banerji, Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, Prof. Deva

Prasad Ghose, Sir P. C. Ray, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Dr. Satyananda Roy, Prof. J. L. Banerji, Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta and Prof. Schlessinger of the Berlin Techinsche Hochschule. We take this opportunity of thanking them for their kind and active sympathy in our work. We also issued several pamphlets explaining the various schemes of work undertaken by us. The preliminaries for the establishment of the Workers' Training College were further pushed on but the actual realisation of the project was not possible owing to the stormy days that followed.

The District Students' Associations carried on a similar activity and in addition most of them maintained right-schools, Seva-Sanghas, Libraries, Gymnasiums and Volunteer Corps throughout their respective jurisdiction. Some of the D.S.A.'s even went further and sent out batches of touring parties into rural areas. This experiment has been an immense success wherever tried and should be pushed on with greater vigour in future.

Many of the D.S.A.'s organised annual sessions of the District Conference and in every case these were immensely successful. District Conferences were held at Jalpaiguri, Dacca, Faridpur, Tipperah, Burdwan, Hugly, Manbhum and others had to be postponed on account of the situation in the country.

The organisation also developed considerably during this period, a large number of new branch associations being formed throughout the Province. (Appendix).

The members of the Working Committee often visited some muffussil areas and tried to infuse new ideas and new spirit of the Student Movement in the more secluded parts of the Province. The visit from Calcutta invariably creates new enthusiasm and thus often results in the formation of a new association or in the strength of existing ones. We therefore tried to organise as many such visits as possible and every effort has been amply rewarded in that respect.

Cases of ill-feeling between the teachers and the taught were not so prolific as in the previous year but still these regrettable incidents were far from negligible. There were disputes between the students and the authorities in a large number of institutions but many of them were amicably settled,

only in a few cases, the estrangement having resulted in strikes. Strikes occurred at Krishnagar College, Comilla College, Sylhet College, Government Art School, and schools at Akkelpore and Joypurhat in the District of Bogra and Kushthia in Nadia District. In all these cases we sent our own representatives to study the situation on the spot and in most of them an amicable settlement was arrived at directly through our mediation.

#### ALL INDIA STUDENTS' FEDERATION

In pursuance of a resolution of the last session of the Annual conference, we were trying to build up a Federation of the Provincial Students organisations. The Lahore Congress gave us an opportunity which we readily grasped and at our suggestion and request, The Punjab Students' Union invited all the different Provincial Students' Organisations to meet during the Congress Week at Lahore. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was elected President and a resolution advocating the formation of a federation was adopted. It was also settled that the representatives would again meet in April at Benares. But this meeting did not come off, and in consequence of the difficulties due to the disturbed political conditions, the proposed idea has not been further proceeded with.

#### THE STUDENTS DAY—1930.

The Students' Day which was celebrated in the previous year with great rejoicings was also very successfully celebrated in 1930. The actual date of commemoration had to be shifted from 3rd to 9th February on account of the Saraswati Puja Festival on the 3rd. Throughout the day there was a brisk collection of funds by selling A.B.S.A. badges. A novel way of making propaganda was introduced, leaflets being distributed by balloons and rockets.

Sir C. V. Raman was invited to deliver the Annual Address and in the evening, before a mammoth gathering of students in the Senate Hall of the University, he gave us a most brilliant and illuminating address. The Celebrations concluded with a very interesting programme of demonstrations of physical feats at Simla Byaam Samity in the presence of Dr. Raman.

**"INDIA TO-MORROW" AND "CHHATRA."**

The Bengali monthly journal "Chhatra" which was so cordially received by the students last year continued its publications with equal success. The beginning of the year 1930 saw a new journal in English intended to be the interpreter of our ideals in the other parts of India and in foreign countries and was first published on the 3rd Feb.

It met with immediate success and the two journals together formed an effective instrument for the interpretation of our ideals, for the dissemination of true information about our activities and formed a connecting link between the A.B.S.A. and the organisations of Indian Students abroad.

**FOREIGN RELATIONS**

An effort was made to bring the A.B.S.A. in touch with other students and youth organisations abroad. There was mutual exchange of correspondence between us and the Students Movement House of Great Britain, The Indian Students Central Association at London, The Glasgow and Edinburgh University Indian Students Union, The International Students Service of Geneva, Society of Hindu Students in France, The Hindusthan Association of Central Europe (at Berlin) and the Hindusthan Association of America (both primarily students organisations). An exchange was established between the "India Tomorrow" and the "Vox Studentiam" of Geneva, "The Hindustanee Student" and the "World Tomorrow" of America. Among our countrymen who take a keen interest in our work even from distant lands may be mentioned Mr. Sailendranath Ghose and Mr. P. C. Mookerjee from America, Mr. Rashbehari Bose from Japan and Dr. Taraknath Das from Germany. Dr. Das, specially has been an unfailing source of inspiration to us. We should, however fail in our duty if we forget to mention the sympathy and services of another gentleman, Bishop Frederick Fischer formerly of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Calcutta and now in the University of Yale. We avail ourselves of the opportunity of expressing our deepest gratitude for their kind sympathy and help.

## PERIOD II—6TH APRIL ONWARDS

With the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore opened a new Chapter of Indian History. It was there that the nation first decided to go in for the great ordeal of suffering and sacrifice which makes the year 1930, one of the most inspiring periods of our history. The call for sacrifice for the sake of a great ideal stirs the heart of youth most quickly. It is but expected that the members of our Association should be swayed away by that tumultuous tide of enthusiasm. When the Working Committee of the Congress inaugurated the National movement with the celebrations of the "Independence Day" on the 26th January, our organisation responded to the call most enthusiastically and the procession organised by us was the longest and most impressive in Calcutta. On the 12th March, the day of Gandhiji's historic march to the sea, the programme drawn out by us was also responded to most wholeheartedly by the students throughout the province. During the days that followed everybody was talking and discussing what the attitude of the All-Bengal Students' Association was to be. On the one hand were our normal constructive work, on the other the maddening call of the battle-field. The Executive thereupon decided to call a special convention at Calcutta to ascertain the real opinion of the students. The convention was held under the presidentship of Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta at the Albert Hall on the 6th April. It was a significant day, as everybody would remember, that on that day mass civil disobedience was to begin throughout India. Enthusiasm ran so high that a single chhatak of salt manufactured earlier in the day at Mahishbathan Satyagraha Centre, when put to auction, fetched the very handsome price of Rs. 100. The chhatak of salt was eagerly bid for by many and ultimately it went to the highest bidder—The National Medical Institute. However the convention gave the A.B.S.A. a mandate to proceed somewhat cautiously. A resolution for a general suspension of studies was not adopted but the A.B.S.A. was asked to help the movement in all possible ways and to give proper facilities to those who wanted to participate in the fight. The Working Committee thereupon decided to raise our own volunteer battalion and to send them in batches to the training

camp at Sodepur. Arrangements were pushed on vigorously and a large number of volunteers were enrolled.

The National Week (6th to 13th April) was celebrated with great enthusiasm by the students all over Bengal. In Calcutta throughout the week morning processions with songs were organised everyday followed by hawking of khaddar in the afternoon. Evening processions with appropriate placards were also often organised and on the 13th April a huge procession terminated in a meeting at Halliday Park, presided over by Miss Kalyani Das where speeches were made explaining the significance of the great fight that had just begun. By then however a set of circumstances, which we are going to describe presently, upset all our calculations and our energies had to be diverted in other directions for a certain time.

Many of our members had not been satisfied with the decisions of the convention and they believed that the students should have adopted a more fighting programme, so as to bring about a crisis in the movement. They thereupon formed a "Students' Civil Disobedience Council" and launched on a new programme of Satyagraha-open violation of the law of sedition. The first day of the campaign, the 11th of April will be in the memory of everyone in Calcutta as it gave us the fore-taste of the police regime that was to follow. About 100 of our members were arrested in the meeting at College Square and the story of the broken heads and spilt blood is quite well-known to everybody. Many of those arrested were subsequently released but still we lost a large number of our prominent workers including Sj. Sachin Mitra, the president and Sj. Sreepada Mazumdar, a member of our working committee. The tale of suffering moved Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta and he offered to lead the Satyagrahee students the next day at Cornwallis Square. The Executive of All Bengal Students' Association in view of the new developments diverted its energies so that the programme launched upon by many of our workers, might be carried on uninterrupted. Henceforward all the resources of the Association was at the disposal of the "Students' Civil Disobedience Council." The next day we lost Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta and several of our workers including Sj. Santhosh Chatterjee, another member of the Working Committee. For some days the satyagraha continued in the public parks at Calcutta and

soon the movement was spreading in the mofussil, our D.S.A.s taking it up most enthusiastically. In the meantime our duties in another direction, though suffering somewhat, were not entirely forgotten. During the days of sedition satyagraha movement, the first batch of our volunteers were sent to Sodepur Camp under the leadership of Sj. Harasundar Chakravarty. However, the sedition Satyagraha Movement as such met with some opposition from many of the leaders of Civil Disobedience Movement, who considered it merely wasteful and we thought it expedient not to proceed with the programme after a certain time. Out of about 40 convicted at Calcutta in this connection, all except some 4 or 5, are members of our Association.

Thenceforward, we issued a general instruction to our District Associations to work in the line chalked out by the National Congress. About that time, with the armoury raid at Chittagong, the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance (Bengal Ordinance) was re-enacted and we suffered most heavily in the plethora of arrests that followed. The arrests included amongst many other Sj. Nalindra Sen Gupta, Satish Ghose, Members Working Committee, Sj. Naresh Guha, Secretary, Dacca D.S.A., Paresh Chandra Guha, Secretary, Rangpur D.S.A., and Sj. Susil K. Dev, Editor Chatra (for particulars about further arrests under the Bengal Ordinance please see Appendix).

During the months of April and May, we sent our workers to various rural areas, the following being the full list.

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| (1) MIDNAPORE— | Sj. Bijoy Krishna Chakravarty,<br>Harish Chandra Panda and<br>others.  |
| (2) KHULNA—    | Sj. Satish Chandra Ghose,<br>Netai Chandra Ghose, Shyama-<br>pada Banerji.   |
| (3) SYLHET—    | Sj. Subodh Chandra Biswas.   |
| (4) NADIA—     | Sj. Narayan Chandra Lahiri,<br>Sj. Surendra Nath Mitra (Amla-<br>Sadarpur) and three batches of<br>volunteers of Nadia Volunteer<br>Corps. (Students' Association) |

	under the Captainship of Sj. Annada Das Gupta, and Sj. Jagannath Mazumdar.
(5) BURDWAN—	Sj. Chitta Ranjan Chatterji, Radhika Prasad Bhattacharyya and others.
(6) 24-PARGANAS—	Rammoy Bhattacharjee and others (Basirhat Sub-division).
(7) BOGRA—	Sj. Jadu Gopal Goswami and others.
(8) RAJSHAHI—	Sj. Sib Sankar Chakravarty (Nator) and Satyendra Mazumder.
(9) MALDAH—	Sj. Bholanath Mukherji.
(10) FARIDPUR—	Sj. Jitendra Nath Pal, Madhu Sudan Pal, Jagadish Chandra Ghose and others.
(11) JESSORE—	Sj. Bhabesh Ch. Bhattacharya (Madhyapalli) and Baidya Nath Sarker (Nebutala).
(12) MURSHIDABAD—	Sj. Satya Ranjan Mukherji, Renu Kar Chatterji (Basaribad) and others.
(13) TIPPERAH—	Sj. Ajit Kumar Dutta and Ramesh Chandra Chakravarty (Chandpur).
(14) DACCA—	Sj. Mukunda Lal Chakravarty.
(15) CHITTAGONG—	Sj. Uttar Kumar Dhar, Dwijendra Nath Nandy and others.
(16) DINAJPUR—	Sj. Arunangshu Dey.

In June again Sj. Narayan Chandra Lahiri, Assistant Secretary, A.B.S.A. toured the following Districts for propaganda purposes in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement :—Nadia, Murshidabad, Malda, Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Rangpur and Dinajpur.

Sj. Krishna Kumar Chatterji, Vice-president, toured round the Districts of Hugly, Howrah, Burdwan, and Sj. Susanta Maity went to Midnapur and Bankura.

The office of the A.B.S.A. was first raided by the Police

towards the end of April, the records and documents were all taken away and the inmates taken into custody, who however, were subsequently released. From May onwards upto the end of June, the record is an uninterrupted story of raids, arrests and convictions. Early in June it occurred to many of us that in view of the changing situation, it would be better if we consult the opinion of the general body of students in regard to the question of a general suspension of studies. A second special convention was called by us on the 1st of July and at a meeting of the Central Council of the A.B.S.A. on the 28th June, it was resolved to call upon the members of the A.B.S.A. to suspend their studies and devote themselves to national work. It was also decided to adopt certain emergency measures in view of the impending stormy days. Sj. Girija Mukherjee was appointed the Acting President in place of Sj. Sachin Mitter then in jail and the President and the Secretary were given the power to nominate their successors in case of their incarceration. On the day of the convention, the police again raided the office of the A.B.S.A. and took into custody Sj. Birendranath Das Gupta the General Secretary and about 40 other students. Sj. Das Gupta was detained under the Bengal Ordinance and the rest was let off. Sj. Sudhanshu Kumar Bose one of the Assistant Secretaries was to act as the Secretary. The Convention of 1st July at Albert Hall was presided over by Sja. Basanti Devi and attended by many distinguished leaders and educationists including Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt and Mr. Avis an American journalist. The Hall was packed to suffocation, the delegates from all districts attending in large numbers. A resolution calling upon the students to suspend their studies was passed practically unanimously. One or two cautionary voice were raised but their feeble voice was lost in that tumult of enthusiasm.

A few words in justification of the course of action decided upon by us seems to be absolutely necessary in this place. We had it on the authority of one of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, that the Congress would soon call upon the students to leave their studies for national service (such a resolution was actually passed by the Committee a few days before our Convention). Moreover we ascertained from

him that in the opinion of the Working Committee, the time had come to make the final and most determined effort to bring the movement to a successful conclusion towards the end of the year. We believed that the only way of intensifying the movement would be through a general suspension of studies on the part of the students. A larger number of workers would then naturally come forward and even those who would not be able to join the movement, would be doing a great service by lending the workers help and encouragement. Though the suspension was not so successful, as it ought to have been, our calculations have not been substantially wrong.

After the convention, vigorous preparations were carried on to put the resolution into effect. It was decided to act in collaboration with other students' organisations and we all agreed to act under the dictatorship of Sja. Basanti Debi. Picketing of schools and colleges began soon after ; but the strength behind the movement was however clearly manifested on the occasion of the University Law Examinations. Several hundred pickets were massed inside the University premises, the A.B.S.A. alone contributing more than 700 and the examination had to be postponed for that day. After the repetition of such scenes for a few days more, the University finally postponed all the examinations till after the Puja.

By this time, the effect of the resolution was being felt throughout the province. There was not an institution in Bengal, which did not experience a deadlock at least for a certain period. The movement however entered into the second phase with the beginning of picketing of Presidency College. The Government had realised the immense potentialities of the movement, as is indicated by the frequent references in the weekly reviews of the Government of India, and had decided to check it in the very beginning. Elaborate police arrangements were made in front of the Presidency College and it looked as if the Government had challenged us to fight out the issues in front of the Presidency College. We were not slow to take up the challenge and picketing of the Presidency College began from the 14th of July. The harrowing tales of the lathi and cane charges that followed are quite well-known to all. During the three weeks that we picketed the Presidency College we had to pay a heavy toll. More than 100 of our

workers were convicted in this connection and in addition those who were severely wounded numbered more than 100. Of these the largest quota was supplied by the North Calcutta District Students' Association which sacrificed its President Sj. Chuni Thakur and the rest were evenly distributed among the Calcutta Districts and the 24-Parganas D.S.A. In the meantime Sreejukta Basanti Devi had declared the week 25th July to 1st August as the "Students' Week" and appealed to us to celebrate the week in a fitting manner. The main heads of the programme were—(i) extensive porpaganda for swadeshi goods, (ii) collection of funds, (iii) enrolment of volunteers, (iv) signing of pledges for boycotting British goods and using swadeshi goods. The extent of response may be gauged from the number of pledges actually signed which approached the figure 50,000. On the 28th July, the police raided the office of the A.B.S.A. and carried away everything they could find in the office including the money collected and the signed pledges and arrested more than 30 workers who were then in the office. All of them were subsequently let off except Sjs. Ajit Kumar Dutta and Narayan Chandra Lahiri, Treasurer and Asst. Secretary respectively of the A.B.S.A., who were later on tried and convicted. From that day onwards it was our ordinary daily routine to welcome the police once in the day. Several of our officers-in-charge and other workers were arrested and subsequently convicted during these daily raids. Subsequently the police occupied the office and posted several constables throughout the 24 hours of the day and this continued till the Pujas, after which even we have not been able to procure any office-room owing to the opposition of the police.\*

The suspension movement, as we have stated before, spread with lightning rapidity throughout the province and the story of the Presidency College was repeated in many of the places in the mafussil. At Dacca a student Sj. Ajit Bhattacharyya was so severely assaulted that he subsequently succumbed to his injuries. The assault on Ajit was so unprovoked and brutal that it evoked the strongest condemnation from all quarters,

\* About this time, (beginning of August) both the journals of our Association, "India To-morrow" and "Chhatra" were suppressed by the Government by demanding large sums of money as security from the press as well as from the printers and publishers of the papers.

including the University Authorities. The severe atrocities on the students of Chittagong as well as the merciless beatings in front of the Howrah Zilla school and the valiant way in which they bore it deserves special mention here.

Towards the first week of August we found that the ordinary students who were simply abstaining from their classes and were not prepared to go further, were gradually getting impatient ; we critically examined the situation and found that we had already secured the services of a large number of students, who would not go back at least for some time, no matter whether the rest suspend their studies or not. We also felt that it would be unfair to continue picketing against the contrary wish of the majority. Herein we differed from our friends of the B.P.S.A. and we had no other alternative but to proceed alone. We entered into negotiations with the majority of the colleges and on an assurance being obtained from the authorities that there would be no victimisation and that they would not put any hindrance before those students who would like to do some work under our direction, we finally discontinued picketing of educational institutions in Calcutta and issued similar instructions to the District Students Associations, allowing them the right to picket under special local circumstances. The authorities of almost all schools in North Calcutta and East Calcutta promised further to allow organisation of school unions which subsequently were affiliated to the respective District Students' Associations.

The venue of picketing in Calcutta was changed from the college gates to the Burrabazar foreign cloth shops and the District Students Associations were also asked to act in a similar way. Thenceforward, up till the Pujas, we sent every day 40 to 50 volunteers on the average to picket at the Burrabazar area and the North Calcutta District Students Association contributed the largest share and the majority of the rest came from East Calcutta. The arrests from day to day totalled more than 1000 and the convictions numbered about 400 including Sj. Atul Bose, the Captain.

All this time we had also been sending out batches of workers to Civil Disobedience Centres in different parts of the Province, such as Tamluk in the district of Midnapur, Balurghat and Thakurgaon in the district of Dinajpur. They worked

there in our name under the direction of the Civil Disobedience Council.

After the Pujas, there was a noticeable lull in the situation in Calcutta. There were several attempts to create some enthusiasm on the occasion of the Jawahar Day and Lajpat Rai Day. The workers of our Association tried their utmost to make this a success. However, the response not being sufficient, the Executive decided to change the venue of work to some rural area. In the meantime Sj. Arunangshu De, one of the members of the Working Committee, had left Calcutta and established a centre of work in Thakurgaon in the district of Dinajpur. We sent a number of workers to Thakurgaon including Sj. Sudhir Chandra Pal, a member of the Working Committee to work under Sj. Arunangshu De's direction.

They worked together with the local Congress Committee and the result of the work has been splendid. They toured throughout the subdivision in small batches and visited even the most secluded villages. Everywhere they have found immense enthusiasm and the response to their call has been very heartening.

In the mofussil, the District Associations are also trying to do their utmost to lend whatever help they can do to the national movement. But it is a distressing fact that everywhere there is less enthusiasm than before and it is your duty to examine the whole situation and suggest some impressive programme of work which may catch the imagination of our friends all over Bengal.

This record will be brought to a finish if we draw your attention to certain developments with regard to the existing relations between the A.B.S.A. and the schools and colleges. The present constitution does not provide for a direct link between the Institution and the Central Association and for some time past we were being pressed to remedy this defect by some of the College Unions at Calcutta. It was not possible for us to accommodate them under the existing conditions. We however, convened a meeting of the representatives of the College Unions in Calcutta and requested them to suggest in what way they would like the present constitution to be amended. Their recommendations, together with certain modifica-

tions suggested by us, will be placed before you for your consideration.

Friends, the report which we place before you for your consideration is instructive in many respects. It clearly disproves the statement that the students of Bengal have not responded to the call of motherland. A look into the appendices will tell you that a large number of our members—this number being reckoned not in hunderds, but in thousands even according to the modest estimate this cannot be less than 3,000,—had the good fortune to be His Majesty's guests. Fourteen out of the 20 original Working Committee Members including the President, the General Seeretary, and the Treasurer, one of the two Vice-Presidents and in addition four Assistant Secretaries had been or are still in Jail. Reports so far received show that Presidents and Secretaries (See Appendix) of nearly all the District Associations shared the same fate, one of them Sj. Sudhangshu Sarma, Secretary of Sylhet District Students' Association having died of Cholera while still in Jail. Before we take leave of you, we would like to convey our heatrfelt sorrow for the untimely death of some of our members while working for the movement. They have immortalised themselves by their sacrifice for the cause they loved so much and we on this side of the world can do honour to them only by keeping steadfastly the way which we all had been going.

We take this opportunity of extending our hearty thanks to all who have helped us during the year.

#### BANDE MATARAM

Sachindra Nath Mitra, <i>President.</i>	Sudhansu Kumar Bose, <i>Secretary.</i>
Amarendra Nath Roy	Ajit Kumar Dutta
Arunangsu Dey	Krishna Kumar Chatterji
Narayan Chandra Lahiri	Hemanta Kumar Bal
Nil Krishna Chowdhury	Sreepada Mazumdar
Badal Ganguly	Sudhir Kumar Pal
Santosh Chatterji	Prafulla Kumar Guha
Sailendra Nath Mitra	

MEMBERS, WORKING COMMITTEE, ALL-BENGAL  
STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

## APPENDIX

## NADIA D.S.A.

## 1. Convictions.

- (a) Civil Disobedience Movement—approximate figure 100 members of the Association including the President, Sj. Mohit Chatterji and the Secretary, Sj. Smarajit Banerjee.
- (b) 8 members of the Association have been arrested under the Bengal Ordinance.

2. Suspension of studies throughout the district was very successful.

## HOWRAH

- 1. Convictions—About 75 members, all in connection with Civil Disobedience Movement, including the Secretary, Sj. Ranjit Banerjee.
- 2. Nine branch Associations formed during this term.
- 3. Suspension resolution acted upon most enthusiastically ; workers of the Association picketed Howrah Hat for a considerable time until the Pujas.

## JALPAIGURI

Many prominent workers of the Association were convicted under section 124A and 120B in connection with the speeches delivered by them at the District Students Conference. Among them was Sj. Swaprakash Dutt, the Secretary of the D.S.A.

Approximately 200 members of the Association were convicted during the movement, the bulk of the work in the district being carried on by the students.

## MYMENSINGH

- 1. About 50 members of the Association, including Sj. Paresh Chandra Ray the Secretary, were convicted in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- 2. The following branch Associations have been formed or reorganised.

Kishoreganj, Sararchar, Chandipara, Ramgopalpur, Iswarganja, Kendua, Noapara, Netrokona, Barhatta, Purbadhalla, Durgapur, Senbari, Jamalpur, Sherpur Town and Islampur.

### FARIDPUR

1. Large number of workers of the Association were convicted in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement.  
(b) 7 members have been arrested under the Ordinance.
2. Six new branch associations have been formed.

### HOOGHLY

1. A large number of workers of the Association were convicted, including Sj. Tushar Kumar Chatterjee, the President of the Association.
2. The D.S.A. has 11 branch associations.

### TIPPERAH D.S.A.

1. (a) About 150 workers of the Association were convicted during the movement.  
(b) 3 members have been arrested under the Ordinance, Sj. Kumudbehari Sengupta, the Secretary of the Association being one of them.
2. The following new branch associations have been formed :  
Barkanta, Gangamandal, Chandra, Chandpur, Shayamagram, Ujanchar, Ramkrishnapur.

### MIDNAPORE

1. The D.S.A. has been reorganised this year. Several branch associations have been formed.
2. A large number of students were convicted in connection with the movement. Sj. Kshirode Dutt, the Secretary of the Association was arrested and after being kept in custody for more than a month, was let off.

### NORTH CALCUTTA D.S.A.

1. More than 200 workers of the North Calcutta D.S.A. were convicted during the movement. Sj. Chunilal Thakur the

President, was convicted in connection with the picketing of Presidency College.

2. The D.S.A. picketed for several months the foreign cloth shops at R. G. Kar Road and the liquor shops in North Calcutta for some time. The D.S.A. also placed many workers at the disposal of the Central Association, to picket foreign cloth shops at Burrabazar.

3. The D.S.A. has also organised a Swadeshi Propaganda Board which are carrying on a vigorous propaganda for the use of Swadeshi goods.

#### BURDWAN D.S.A.

1. About 300 workers of the D.S.A. were convicted in connection with the C.D. Movement and two were arrested under the Bengal Ordinance.

2. The D.S.A. tried its best to put the suspension resolution into effect. Police force was requisitioned, Sec. 144 was promulgated before the Raniganj H.E. School resulting in the assault of many workers and conviction of some. The office was searched twice, all papers being seized.

3. Student Unions were formed at the following Schools. Memari, Sridharpur, Ikhance, Ukhara, Searsole, Asansol, Gopalpur, Baidyapur, Badla, Okersha, Ramgopalpur, Purbasthali and Raniganj.

4. Two enthusiastic workers of the Association Sj. Jyotiprakash Roy Choudhury a student of 12 years and the first convict of the district and Gourgopal Samanta died during the movement.

#### DACCA D.S.A.

1. Great efforts were made to give effect to the suspension resolution. The M.A., M.Sc., and Law Examinations had to be postponed due to picketing organised by the D.S.A. Horrible atrocities were perpetrated by the police in front of the Dacca Intermediate College and Curzon Hall Gate. As a result a student named Sj. Ajit Bhattacharyya died and 15 other students of the Association were severely wounded.

2. Up to the middle of November the District Congress

Committee entrusted the D.S.A. with the picketing of foreign cloth shops in the city.

3. (a) 50 workers of the D.S.A. were convicted during the movement of whom 20 were from Nawabganj No-tax centre.

(b) 12 members of the Association including the Secretary, Sj. Naresh Chandra Guha have been arrested under the Bengal Ordinance.

#### CHITTAGONG D.S.A.

1. The D.S.A. had to labour under special difficulties after the armoury raid ; but still it made great efforts to act according to the instructions of the A.B.S.A. After the passing of the suspension resolutions they organised picketing in front of the college and many other schools in spite of Sec. 144 being in force. The police and the military dealt with the pickets most severely. Processions were organised several times in violation of Sec. 144 and on more than one occasion about 50 to 60 were severely injured as a result of the police action.

2. The D.S.A. sent many of its workers to Kumira Salt Satyagraha Centre. About 100 members of the Association have been convicted in connection with the movement including two successive Secretaries Sj. Bankim Dutt and Sj. Dharendra Nath Das Gupta. Several of the workers have also been arrested under the Bengal Ordinance.

#### RANGPUR D.S.A.

1. Many workers of the district were convicted in connection with the C.D. movement. About 10 workers have been arrested under the Bengal Ordinance including Sj. Paresh Chandra Guha the Secretary of the Association.

#### KHULNA D.S.A.

The D. S. A. sent many workers to the Raruli Salt Satyagraha Centre. About 75 workers have been convicted in connection with the movement. Several members have also been arrested under the Bengal Ordinance including two successive Secretaries Sj. Satish Ghosh and Sj. Samarendra Mitra.

### MURSHIDABAD D.S.A.

1. 12 volunteers were sent to Mahisha Bathan and all were convicted. One has been convicted in connection with Machua-bazar Bomb Case and six have been detained under the Bengal Ordinance. About 150 students in all including the Secretary, Sitangsu Sinha were convicted in connection with the C.D. movement. A batch of 25 headed by the President Sj. J. N. Sen Gupta made an extensive tour throughout the length and breadth of the district.

### EAST CALCUTTA D.S.A.

1. Great efforts were made by the D.S.A. to give effect to the suspension resolution. Many volunteers were placed at the disposal of the A.B.S.A. to picket at the Presidency College Gate.

2. The D.S.A. undertook the picketing of foreign cloth shops in Bowbazar area. Many were also sent to Burrabazar. The office of the Association was occupied by the police in August and locked up by them.

3. A new branch Association has been formed in Ward No. IX.

### 24 PARGANAS D.S.A.

1. About 64 workers of the Association were convicted in connection with the movement. The D. S. A. also placed all its resources at the disposal of the Central Association.

2. New branch Associations have been formed at Barrackpur, Basirhat.

Up till the time of writing this report the reports of some of the D. S. Associations have not been received. The following are the districts affiliated to the A.B.S.A.

- |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Mymensingh | 5. Tipperah   |
| 2. Dacca      | 6. Chittagong |
| 3. Faridpur   | 7. Noakhali   |
| 4. Barisal    | 8. Rajshahi   |

- |                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 9. Pabna           | 20. Hughly      |
| 10. Rangpur        | 21. 24-Parganas |
| 11. Jalpaiguri     | 22. Burdwan     |
| 12. Darjeeling     | 23. Murshidabad |
| 13. Bogra          | 24. Midnapore   |
| 14. East Calcutta  | 25. Birbhum     |
| 15. West Calcutta  | 26. Bankura     |
| 16. North Calcutta | 27. Khulna      |
| 17. Ballyganj      | 28. Sylhet      |
| 18. Uttarpalli     | 29. Goalpara    |
| 19. Howrah         |                 |

**ALL BENGAL STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION  
SESSION 1929-30.**

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| President :         | 1. Sachindra Nath Mitra,  |
| Vice-Presidents :   | 1. Krishna Kumar Chatterji.<br>2. Tushar Kumar Chatterji.   |
| General Secretary : | Birendra Nath Dasgupta.<br>(Detained under the Bengal<br>Ordinance).<br>Sudhansu Kumar Bose.<br>(Elected on 1st July, 1930).  |
| Asst. Secretaries : | 1. Hemanta Kumar Bal.<br>2. Chunilal Bose.<br>Resigned in February, 1930.<br>3. Narayan Chandra Lahiri,<br>Elected in June, 1930.<br>4. Naresh Chandra Shome.<br>5. Rabindra Lal Sinha,<br>Resigned in June, 1930.<br>6. Uttar Kumar Dhar,<br>Elected in February, 1930.<br>(Detained under the Bengal<br>Ordinance). |
| Treasurer :         | Ajit Mumar Dutt.  |

MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE<sup>\*</sup>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Sachindra Nath Mitra,<br>President-Ex-officio.  | 9. Amarendra Nath Roy.                                   |
| 2. Birendra Nath Das<br>Gupta,<br>Secretary-Ex-officio.<br>(Detained under the<br>Bengal Ordinance). | 10. Prafulla Kumar Guha.                                 |
| 3. Sudhansu Kumar Bose.  | 11. Ajit Kumar Dutt.                                     |
| 4. Sreepada Mazumdar.  | 12. Santosh Kumar Chatterji.                             |
| 5. Arunangshu De.  | 13. Mohit Kumar Chatterjee.                              |
| 6. Nalendra Mohan Sen<br>Gupta,<br>Detained under the<br>Bengal Ordinance.                           | 14. Krishna Kumar Chatterji.                             |
| 7. Satish Chandra Ghosh,<br>Detained under the<br>Bengal Ordinance.                                  | 15. Tushar Kumar Chatterji.                              |
| 8. Dwijendra Nath Nandy,<br>Detained under the<br>Bengal Ordinance.                                  | 16. Jagadish Talapatra.                                  |
|  | 17. Sudhendu Kumar<br>Chatterjee.                        |
|  | 18. Girija Mookerji,<br>(Resigned in November,<br>1930). |
|  | 19. Nilkrishna Chowdhury.                                |
|  | 20. Krishna Gobinda Roy.                                 |
|  | 21. Miss Kalyani Das.                                    |

## XII

## STUDENTS' CONVENTION ON 6-4-30

(from Amrita Bazar Patrika)

7-4-1930.

The clarion call of Mahatma has brought home to our students the fact that in all ages and all climes every national movement has found the students in the forefront. It is because of its consciousness of the very important part they have got to play in our national struggle which is going on to-day, that they met at a special convention held under the auspices of the All Bengal Students' Association on Sunday (April 6) at the Albert Hall under the distinguished presidentship of Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta at 12 noon to give a definite lead to students of Bengal.

All the district associations of Bengal affiliated to the A.B.S.A. responded to this invitation : as many as 700 delegates attended the session of the convention. There was a tremendous rush of visitors but the organisers restricted their admission to 400 only who were accommodated in the upper galleries.

Prominent among the visitors were Sjs. Pratul Ganguly, Pulin Das, Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta.

The proceedings began with "Bandemataram" song, all standing.

Sj. Birendra Nath Das Gupta, General Secretary A.B.S.A. then explained to the audience the object of the meeting. In course of his speech Sj. Das Gupta said—"From the 6th April will begin a nation's life and death struggle for Freedom. We have arrived at a stage where it will no longer be possible for us to take recourse to the safe but not very courageous course of sitting on the fence. The success or failure of the Civil Disobedience Movement which has been started to-day depends upon the fact whether students will co-operate or not, as in every age and in every country it is the students who have created the destinies of nations. Let no passion sway your judgment ; let restrained patriotism be your guide."

Addressing the convention Sj. Sen Gupta said—"Friends you have met to decide your course of action. There are some amongst us who are doubtful about the expediency of disturbing students again by asking them to join the present movement. I do not think that it was at all a mistake on our part to call the students to come out of schools in 1920 ; we were inexperienced then. But inspite of our inexperience, we have it on the authority of a high Government official that in 1921 we were within an ace of success.

Continuing Sj. Sen Gupta said—"Personally so far as the present movement is concerned, I am convinced that it will lead us on to our cherished goal. No where has any progressive movement of freedom succeeded without the help of the students. Even on the last occasion, during the Non-co-operation movement, what success we achieved, was due to the splendid support given by the students."

Proceeding Sj. Sen Gupta remarked—"During the N.C.O. Movement those who joined were carried off more by emotion

and enthusiasm even before they grasped the inward spirit underlying the principles.

But this year he was pleased to find a considerable measure of intellectual appreciation on the part of those who are flocking round the banner of Mahatmaji. This was a hopeful feature and this is what makes me so optimistic about the result.

Concluding Sj. Sen Gupta appealed to the youths of Bengal to rally round the banner of Mahatmaji "Do not said he, expect either education or home comfort once you jump into the fight". This warning Sj. Sen Gupta said—was necessary to guard against any extravagant hopes in the minds of the students which was responsible for keen disappointment in the movement started in 1921.

### XIII

(1932)

#### A BRIEF REPORT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE Students War Council.

To

THE STUDENTS OF BENGAL.

Friends,

It is needless to deal with any special feature of the grim fight in which we are now engaged. But, you should always bear in mind when a whole nation fights for a truth, there is no force on the face of the earth which can hamper its progress. The Nation marches onwards removing all the obstacles on its way for the establishment of its right. So, we see the down-trodden, opressed and dumb millions have awaken from their age long slumber and making their voice heard in their demand to be free from the foreign domination. Every nation has got its right to be free. None can deprive us from our birth-right.

The British Government beginning to realise that their end is fast approaching are making frantic attempts to hold their power in-tact ; and to frustrate our national movement by promulgating ordinance after ordinance, perpetrating brutalities unworthy of any civilized Government. Once we have entered into that struggle, there is no flinching away from it. Young friends of Bengal, will you still go on with your normal activities ? Will you allow the national cause to be frittered away by your indolence and inactivities ? It is the youth who are the torch bearers of Freedom in every Country and in every age. Will you lag behind the youths of other countries ?

Friends, forget not for a moment it is the youths and youths alone who can fight the battle to the finish, so leaving whatever different ideas you cherish come and join the movement, so that we can give an united front to our enemy. Below is given a brief report of the activities of the All Bengal Students Association in Calcutta. From this you will find, how many of your brothers, comrades and friends are rotting behind the prison bars. They are anxiously looking from their dark dungeons for you to finish the work they began and left half finished. Is it too much for them to expect from you ?

\* \* \* \*

5-1-32. The Working Committee of the A.B.S.A. was suspended and the Students War Council was formed. It was decided to lend our support to the National Movement by disobeying all the immoral and illegal laws and orders. Sj. Krishna Kumar Chatterjee, the President of the A.B.S.A. was elected the first President of the Students War Council and Sm. Kalyani Das & Sj. Sudhangsu Bose, Members.

6-1-32. Just at the outset of the movement Sj. Sachindra Nath Mitra, Ex-President of the A.B.S.A. was arrested under Emergency powers Ordinance.

9-1-32. Sm. Kalyani Das, President Ballygunge D.S.A. member of the first War Council was arrested on the Russa Road, while leading a procession and was sentenced to 9 months R.I.

12-1-32. Sj. Krishna Kumar Chatterjee, first President of the Students War Council, Sj. Sailen Mitra, Sudhangsu Bose, Sanat Sarker, Secy. Vidyasagar College Union, Secretary

N.C.D.S.A. and five others were arrested at College Square while holding a meeting and were sentenced to 6 months R.I. each.

13-1-32. Emergency notice under section 4 & 57 of the Emergency powers Ordinance was served on Sj. Narayan Chandra Lahiry, restricting his movements and activities in Calcutta.

14-1-32. A Similar notice was served by the Magistrate, 24 Parganas on Sj. Narayan Chandra Lahiry.

From the 10th January street corner meetings were organised in the week ending the 16th January. 22 students were arrested from N.C.D.S.A. and C.C.D.S.A. for holding street corner meetings.

15-1-32. A huge procession headed by Miss. Amita Dutt, second Acting President of the Students War Council and Bibha Dutt, started from the University Compound and after visiting Ripon, Bangabashi, St. Pauls, Vidyasagar and Scottish Church Colleges, 50 of the leading processionists were arrested in front of the Bethune College. Subsequently 21 students were sentenced to 3 months R.I. and the rest let off.

18-1-32. Sj. Satya Sen, Secretary and first Dictator, S.C.D.S.A. and Jugal Kishore Roy Chowdhury with two others were arrested while addressing a meeting at Hazra Park. They were sentenced to 6 months R.I. each.

21-1-32. Sj. Narayan Chandra Lahiry, member Working Committee, All Bengal Students Association and Ex-Editor of Chhatra was served with two notices, on 13th and 14th January under section 4 and 57 of the Emergency Powers Ordinance by the Police Magistrate and District Magistrate of 24 Parganas respectively. His house was searched by the Lalbazar Police early in the morning, he was taken into the Police custody and subsequently sentenced to six months R.I.

Sj. Sudhin Mozumder, 3rd Acting President of the Students War Council, with four others was arrested at the College Square, while addressing the public condemning the arrest of Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta. They were sentenced to 6 months R.I.

22-1-32. Sj. Sudhin Neogi, 4th Acting President of the Students War Council and President N.C.D.S.A., with Gunada Mozumder and twelve others was arrested at the junction of College Street and Harrison Road while holding a procession.

They were sentenced to six months R.I. 18 students were arrested in the week ending the 23rd January for holding street corner meetings.

23-1-32. Sj. Ram Lal Kundo of N.C.D.S.A. was arrested by a C.I.D. Officer with some leaflets in the Baghbazar Street. He was sentenced to six months R.I.

26-1-32. Sj. Satyen Mozumder, 5th Acting President of the Students War Council with thirty two others was arrested at the Clive Street, while holding a demonstration there. They were sentenced to 6 months R.I. each. 16 students were arrested in different Parks for performing Flag hoisting ceremony. They were all sentenced to 6 month R.I. each. Sjta, Amala Devi of S.C.D.S.A, a lady student along with 9 others of whom two were ladies were arrested at Townshend Road for holding a procession. They were treated with lathi charges. Sj. Nripendra Mohan Bose was severely wounded, all of them were sentenced to six months R.I. each.

Sj. Sachindra Nath Mitra, Ex-President, A.B.S.A. was sentenced to 9 months R.I. during his detention under the Emergency Ordinance.

29-1-32. On the Peshwar day Sj. Swarna Kamal Bhattacharjee, 6th Acting President of the Students War Council, was arrested with 7 others for holding a procession in Cornwallis Street. They were all sentenced to 6 months R.I. each.

Sj. Biraj Ghose, 7th Acting President of the Students War Council with 22 others was arrested at the Clive street while holding a demonstration there. They were sentenced to 6 months R.I. each. Some other students who were with them were sentenced to 4 months R.I. each. Sj. Nirmal Kumar Roy, Assistant C.C.D.S.A, was in that procession. Various batches of students were sent to Muffissil for village work and many of them were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, ranging from 6 to 18 months R.I.

3-2-32. On the students day it was decided to hold a demonstration in the University Compound and then to organise a procession in violation of the order of the Commissioner of Police, but the University Authorities closed all the gates. In spite of this Sj. Sukumar Mitra, 8th Acting President of the Students' War Council, with 10 other students managed to enter into the University Compound and hoisted the National

Flag in the compound. They then came out in a procession and were arrested, subsequently they were sentenced to six months R.I.

Sj. Bimal Chakravorty, 9th Actg. President of the Students' War Council and Sudhir Sanyal with 7 others were arrested for holding a procession in the Clive Street. They were sentenced to six months R.I.

Sj. Manmatha Chowdhuri was arrested with Benode Chowdhury and Rabindra Nath Bose, while addressing a meeting in the College Square. All of them were sentenced to six months R.I.

4-2-32. More than 20 Post Graduate students organised a procession within the University Compound and after parading through the corridors of the University Buildings, a huge meeting was held near the Tennis Court, while several speakers spoke on the present situation of the Country and the duty of the students. Foreign cloths were burnt there. After the meeting the students went out in a procession. The leaders of the procession were arrested, which include the following prominent Post Graduate students and workers of the A.B.S.A.- Pandit Suraj Kissen, 10th Actg. President of the Students' War Council, Sj. Sanat Banerjee, Sudhangsu Roy, Jyotirmoy Sen Gupta, Jiten Ghose, Nabajiban Ghose and others. After their arrest they were followed by about 500 students up to the Thana, where two prominent workers namely, Bibhutibhushan Gupta Bhaya & Bimal Mukherjee were arrested from the demonstrating crowd. They were all sentenced to 9 months R.I.

6-2-32. Convocation day—The Students' War Council issued a pamphlet asking the students to refrain from joining the Convocation, as it was to be presided over by one who is an Agent of the Bureaucracy, which is causing relentless repression in the name of Law and Order. The result was splendid and very few students attended the Convocation. On the same date a meeting in honour of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, was held, where two members of the A.B.S.A. were arrested. They were sentenced to six months R.I. From the 8th to the 10th February last 8 students were arrested for holding meetings in different parks and street corners. On the 11th February last the A. B. S. A. collected subscription from different Hostels and Messes and supplied food to all the poli-

tical Prisoners in Dum Dum Special, Dum Dum Addl. Special, Presidency and Alipore Central Jails. The Food was supplied on the occasion of Saraswati Poojah.

12-2-32. The Saraswati immersion ceremony was performed. The special feature of the ceremony was that all most all the important Hostel and Messes formed a single procession, organised by the A.B.S.A. The procession was a grand success in as much as there were more than 200 National Flags in the procession and many National and political slogans were given. In short the entire procession was given a political colouring by the students. Sj. Ajit Kumar Dutt, 11th. Actg. President of the Students' War Council, who was leading the procession, was arrested by some special Br. Officers and sergeants at Cornwallis Street. He was given tremendous ovation by the entire procession. He was sentenced to six months R.I.

15-2-32. Sj. Shiabaksh D. Modi and twenty members of the A.B.S.A. were arrested, while leading a procession through the Clive Street, protesting against the Lothian Committee. Mr. Modi, who made a statement in court accusing the British Government and their henchmen, was sentenced to 9 months' R.I., and others were sentenced to 6 months' R.I. Though he was offered Division 11 he refused to take the privilege as his comrades were not allowed the same privilege. In another batch Sj. Sishu Kumar Chakraborty, 12th Acting President Students' War Council and Vice President C.C.D.S.A. Sj. Ranjit Kumar Ghose, 4th Dictator S.C.D.S.A. and six others were sentenced to 6 months R.I. for the same offence.

18-2-32. Sj. Amal Sen 13th Acting President of the Students' War Council, and three other members of the A.B.S.A. were arrested while leading a procession from the City College. They were all sentenced to six months R.I.

21-2-32. Sj. Bhupesh Chandra Dutt, 14th Acting President of the Students' War Council and five others were arrested while leading procession from the Darbhanga Building. They were all sentenced to 6 months R.I. In the week ending the 20th February 1932, 21 students were arrested on various charges and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

25-2-32. Miss. Santi Neogi (Post-Graduate), 15th Acting President of the Students' War Council, Miss. Bina Das Gupta of the Scottish Church College, Sj. Abanishawar Misra (Post-

Graduate) Vice President C.C.D.S.A. and 10 other, were arrested while leading a procession before the Senate House after holding a meeting within the University Compound. They were all sentenced to six months R.I.

28-2-32. Baidya Nath Bhattacharjee, a prominent worker of the N.C.D.S.A. was arrested by the C.I.D. at Baghbazar Street. He was sentenced to six months R.I.

In the week ending 27-2-32. 18 students were arrested on various charges and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

1-3-32. Sj. Kamalesh Banerjee, 16th Acting President of the Students' War Council and Secretary Calcutta University Law College Union, Sj. Sushanta Sen and 4 other post Graduate Students were arrested before the Presidency College while leading a procession after addressing a meeting within the University Compound. They were all sentenced to six months R.I.

On similar charges Sj. Sagarmoy Ghose, Secretary Bishwa Bharati Student Union and 17th Acting President of the Students' War Council with two other members of the said council were arrested and sentenced to six months R.I.

This brings the number of members of the Students' War Council arrested in Calcutta upto 662.

So far as could be ascertained, 4221 students were convicted in Bengal upto 1-3-32.

4-3-32. Sj. Md. Ismail and five others were arrested in Clive Street for leading a procession there and making a demonstration in commemoration of the begining of the movement and "Gandhi day." Sj. Ismail was the 18th Acting President of the Student War Council and first Dictator, Bengal Red Shirts. (Sen six months R.I.).

7-3-32. Sj. M. Roy Choudhury, and two other members of the A.B.S.A. were arrested while holding a meeting at the foot of Ochterloney Monument. They were sentenced to 4 months R.I.

8-3-32. Sj. Pulin Bihari Mukherjee, Saroj Kumar Acharya, Jibendra Kumar Roy were arrested while leading a huge procession (the police arrested only those who were leading) through Cornwallis Street in front of the procession, and

entire procession followed the arrested upto the Thana. They were subsequently sentenced to six months R.I.

In the week ending the 5th March, 1932, 12 members of the A.B.S.A. were arrested on various charges and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

12-3-32. Dandi day—a student's procession was arranged in Bura Bazar and Sj. Vaskar Mukhopadhyaya led the procession. The processionists started from the junction of Cross Street and Harison Road and proceeded through Harison Road towards College Street. The processionists had national flag and posters with them, they were shouting national slogans. The police blocked their way at the junction of the Clive Street and Harrison Road and arrested Vaskar Mukhopadhyaya 19th Acting President of the Student War Council and 5 other members. They were sentenced to six months R.I. each. On the same evening a student's procession was started from Lyons Range under leadership of Sj. Lakshimi Narayan Chakravarty a member of the association and five others. All of them were arrested and sentenced to six months R.I.

16-3-32. A student's demonstration was held within the University Compound. Sj. Suhrid Biswas, Secretary Howrah D.S.A. the 20th Acting President of the Student War Council and student of Post Graduate Class Sj. Sujan Sarkar, Dictator Howrah student association, and also student of Post Graduate Class, Sj. Asoke Sarker, student of the Scottish Church College and 2 others came out through the corridors the University Buildings carrying national flags with them and shouting national slogans. They held a meeting near Tennis Court and after the meeting, they formed a procession and passed through the Darbhanga Buildings and entered the Presidency College gate. They were arrested and were sentenced to six months R.I. each.

18-3-32. Early this morning Sj. Aswini Kumar Gupta Secretary C.C.D.S.A. Assistant Secretary A.B.S.A. and Associate Editor, India Tomorrow was arrested from his room in Ripon Hostel, on a charge of sedition in connection with a speech delivered at Albert Hall. Before he was taken all the rooms of the Ripon Hostel were throughly searched. He was sentenced to six months R.I. on the 9th of April.

20-3-32. A students procession was started from Mirzapur Street. The processionist proceeded through the Mirzapur Street and College Square, 5 members of A.B.S.A. were arrested. The crowd was dispersed by the police.

23-3-32. A huge demonstaration was arranged within the the University Compound. Sj. Santosh Kumar Das, Profulla Kumar Sen, Sudhendra Kumar Das, Deviprasanna Das Gupta. Amiya Bhushan Mukherjee, Dinendra Nath Das, paraded through the corridors of the University Building carrying the national flags with them and came in the open compound. There they held a meeting. Sj. Santosh Kumar Biswas 21st Acting President Students' War Council, made a speech, and other students also spoke there on present situation of country. After the meeting was over, they came out in a procession in the College Street and were arrested and subsequently sentenced to six months R.I.

On the same evening another student procession was started from Mirzapur Street, 4 studeuts were arrested and sentenced six monthe R. I.

24-3-32. A student procession was arranged in the College Street. The processionists proceeded through College Street distributing leaflets all the way. From among the processionists the police arrested Syamsebak Ram Bramha, Surendra Nath Kar and two others students. Sj. Syamsebak was sentenced to six months R. I. and others to 4 months R. I.

4-4-32. A student demonstration was held in Ripon College. Sj. Dijendra Nath Chatterjee 22nd Acting President of the Students' War Council and Dictator Ripon College War Council, held a small meeting within then College. After the meeting was over Sj. Chatterjee with 4 other students came out of the College, proceeded in a procession through Harrison Road and Mirzapur Street, and were arrested there. They were all sentenced to six months R.I.

6-4-32. Sj. Sarat Kumar Chatterjee 23rd Acting President of the Students' War Council with 3 other students led a procession from Beadon Street. They were arrested at Cornwallis Square. Sj. Harananda Karmakar, was sentenced to 9 months R.I. and Sj. Chatterjee and others were sentenced to 6 months R.I.

11-4-32. A student demonstration was held in Astanga Ayurveda College. Sj. Suresh Chandra Sen 24th Acting President of the Students' War Council with 3 other students started a procession from the College. The processionists proceeded through Circular Road, Fariapookor Street and Cornwallis Street and were arrested near the traffic police station, Cornwallis Stereet. They were sentenced to 1 month R.I.

13-4-32. A huge student demonstration was arranged in commemoration of Jallianwallah Bag day. Sj. Arunangshu De, General Secretary A.B.S.A. and Hara Sundar Chakravarty, 25th Acting President of the Student's War Council, led a proces-  
sion with 30 other students. The processionists started from Shama Charan De Street and proceeded through College Street, they were carrying national flags, Badges of A.B.S.A. and posters of England's work in India with them. They were stopped by the police in front of the College Square. They were ordered to be dispersed which they refused to do. Then the police officers tried to disperse them by Lathi charge, but they remained firm. Then the police took the whole group under arrest. When they reached near the crossing of the Chittaranjan Avenue and Harrison Road some 23 of them were dispersed by the police by lathi charges. Most of the proces-  
sionist were dealt with Lathi blows. Sj. Arunangshu De, Sj. Harasundar Chakravarty, Sj. Chittaranjan Sen Gupta, Sj. Jitendra Chandra Chakravarty, Dictator C.C.D.S.A., were badly injured. Sj. Arunangshu De, was sentenced to 9 months R.I. Sj. Harasundar Chakravarty, Sj. Jatindra Chakravarty, Sj. Bhibhuti Mazumdar, Sj. Arabinda Roy, Sj. Probodh Chowdhury, Assistant Secretary A.B.S.A. and others were sentenced to six months R.I.

14-4-32. A procession of the students was started from the Beadon Street. The processionists entered into the Corn-  
wallis Square and tried to hold a meeting there but the Police at once came on the spot and arrested Abdulla Rasul, Sub-  
Editor of 'The Mussalman' and three members of the A.B.S.A. They were all sentenced to six months R.I. each.

In the same evening another student's procession was started from the Cornawallis Street headed by Sj. Bimal Sen 26th Acting President of the Students' War Council. The Police stopped the processionists in front of Bethune College,

arrested Sj. Sen only, another Volunteer was driven out. Sj. Sen was sentenced to 6 months R.I. In the same evening another procession was started from Vidyasagar Street. The processionists paraded to Sukea Street and Amherst Street and was stopped by the police near Sukea Street Thana and arrested Sj. Peary Mohan Chatterjee, Sj. Bimal Bose and two other students. They were all sentenced to 6 months R.I. each.

The War Council of the Association has already arranged to send Volunteers to different places to make propaganda of boycotting British and Foreign goods.

The War Council of the Association has already sent workers to such Muffissil working centres as Dacca, Midnapur, Barisal, Sylhet, Arambagh, Dinajpur, Pabna, Thakurgaon, Bankura, Khulna and 24 Parganas. Most of them have already courted imprisonment from those centres. They have undertaken the work of No-Tax campaign in some places. It can be gathered from their reports that the total number of students convicted in the last three months is 5,322, as distinguished from 9,533, the total number of persons arrested in the whole of Bengal. The number of students arrested in Calcutta in that period is 852.

15-4-32. The War Council of the Association again started the distribution of leaflet in the prominent streets of Calcutta, in the Tram Cars and Buses, requested the public to boycott everything British. In the week ending of 20th April, some 30 students with badges distributed leaflets, some of them were arrested but subsequently released.

16-4-32. The Association arranged a students procession which started from Manicktolla Spur. They proceeded towards Cornwallis Square, when Police arrested the following persons from the head of the procession, Sjs. Bhabanath Halder, Kudhiram Bose, Niranjan Saha, Basanta Kumar Saha, Anil Kumar Sircar but three of them were subsequently released and two were sentenced to 6 months R.I.

Sj. Sachin Dutta, Secretary, Students Union, College of Engineering and Technology (Jadavpur) was sent to Arambagh to direct the no-rent campaign. He managed the work splendidly. He started a big procession and after parading the main streets addressed a huge gathering. He was then arrested and sentenced to 6 months' R.I.

20-4-32. 21 members of the Association went to Delhi as delegates to the 46th Session of the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Sj. Prosun Ghose, 27th Acting President of the Students' War Council.

24-4-32. Kishorilal Dutt with 5 others were arrested in Delhi. Sj. Prosun Ghose managed his entrance in Delhi with 6 Delegates. On the morning Sj. Ghose with 28 more delegates started in a procession towards the Clock Tower to attend the Session. They were stopped by the Police and were ordered to disperse but they refused to do so and began to read the resolutions. The Police tried to desperse them with lathi charges which they boldly faced. Sj. Prosun Ghose, Sukhendu Mitra, Indra Nath Ghose were injured. All the delegates were released by the 1st week of May.

Following other names of the delegates :—

Sjs. Prosun Ghose, Kishorilal Dutt, Paresh Roy, Md. Motabbar, Devi Kar, Sukhendu Mitra, Indra Nath Ghose, Dindayal Bose, Sukumar Roy, Probodh Ghose, Atul Sen, Jagannath Saha, Monoranjan Ganguly and Raghabendra Rao of Santiniketan and three others.

25-4-32. A procession of students was started from the Clive Street, three ladies who were leading the procession were arrested and the rest were dispersed by lathi charges, as a result of which one of the students received injuries.

26-4-32. A students procession was started from the Narkeldanga Main Road with Nirod Kumar Roy, 28th Acting President of the Students' war Council, Narendra Nath Bhattacherjee and Dwijendra Nath Banerjee at the head. The were arrested and sentenced to 6 months R.I. each.

27-4-32. A students procession was started from the Deshabandhu Park. The processionists paraded through the Park twice, the Police stopped them and arrested Sj. Jagabandhu Sen, Dinobandhu Mitra and Nikhil Mitra. They were subsequently sentenced to 6 months R.I.

Sj. Mrinal Roy of A.B.S.A. attended the Delhi Congress as a delegate of Sylhet. He was detained in the Camp Jail and subsequently released. But was re-arrested on a charge of possession of unauthorised leaflets, he was sentenced to 3 months R.I. and a fine of Rs. 150, in default one & half month's imprisonment.

1-5-32. Sj. Badal Ganguly, member In-Charge of Labour Department of A.B.S.A. was arrested in connection with the May Day celebration and was released after three weeks detention.

3-5-32. A students procession started from Deshabandhu Park. Sj. Debabrata Chatterjee 29th Acting President of the Students' War Council was leading the procession, was arrested with Sjs. Chinta Haran Sarkel, Manmatha Chakravorty, Monoranjan Paul, Sanat Kumar Bose, Tulsi Charan Das and five others. The last two were released the next day and the rest were sentenced to 6 months R.I. each.

4-5-32. A procession was organised in China Bazar, two members were severely assaulted. Five students picketed the foreign cloth shops at Burrabazar. No arrest was made.

5-5-32. Five students were arrested for picketing foreign cloth shops at Monohar Das Katra, Burrabazar but all were released at night.

7-5-32. Sj. Sushil Sen, Narendra Nath Das, Tarapada Chatterjee were arrested while distributing leaflets. Seven students picketed shops at Monohardas Katra and Sadasukh Katra but no arrest was made.

8-5-32. Five members of the A.B.S.A. under the leadership of Sj. Hiralal Chakravorty picketed foreign shop at Sadasukh Katra but the Police did not interfere. A students procession started from the Duff Street. The processionists under the leadership of Sj. Sachindranath Chowdhury 30th Acting President of the Students' War Council and Dictator of Uttar Palli D.S.A. entered the Cornwallis Square and held a meeting there. Sachin Chowdhury with Induprosad Sen and Pasupati Chatterjee were arrested while addressing the gathering. All were convicted to 4 months R.I.

10-5-32. 11 members of the A.B.S.A. picketed Sadasukh and Monohardas Katra, two of them Sj. Nabakumar Chatterjee and Ranjit Chakravorty were severely assaulted by the Police but no arrest was made.

11-5-32. Sj. Nabakumar Chatterjee, Chintamoni Das, Narendra Nath Das, and five other members of the A.B.S.A. were arrested while picketing at Sadasukh Katra, but subsequently released on the next day. Sj. Madangopal Dhar while

distributing leaflets was beaten by the Police by shoes as a result of which he received serious injuries.

12-5-32. The A.B.S.A. Camp at Kanai Dhar Lane was raided by the Police and 12 members were arrested but all of them were released after two days.

15-5-32. In a meeting of the War Council it was decided that fresh batches of workers should be sent to the working centres of Moffussil ; accordingly following workers were sent to different places for propagating Civil disobedience movement. Sj. Monoranjan Ganguly to Sylhet, Silchar, Noakhali, Comilla, Chandpur and Rajbari.

Sj. Saktiranjan Bose to Jessore, Khulna, Bagerhat and Barisal.

Sj. Sukhada Roy to Serajganj, Mymensingha and Dacca.

Sj. Atul Chakravorty to Bhanubil (Sylhet) to work for no-rent campaign in that locality. He was arrested and convicted for the 3rd time to 3 months R.I.

Sj. Jagannath Saha to Mymensingha.

Sj. Nabendu Dutt Mozumder to Bajitpur (Mymensingha).

Sj. Sachin Das Gupta to Rajshahi, Natore, Dinajpur, Rungpur and Maldah.

16-5-32. Sj. Rajkumar Sarker of the A.B.S.A. while organising picketing was arrested and taken to the Burrabazar Police Station, where he was severely assaulted. Two European Sergeants kicked him forcibly and held him by the ear, made him to stand and sit in a most humiliating way. Sj. Sudhamadhab Sen, Ramesh Chandra Bhadra, Sibasamihu Kar were also taken to the Police Station and whipped, all were however released at night. Another batch of three picketers were brutally assaulted and dispersed.

In memory of the heroes who were shot dead and brutally assaulted in the Hijli detention Camp, a big procession was organised from the College Square under the leadership of Sj. Kisori Lal Dutt, 31st Acting President of the Students' War Council. He was arrested with Sj. Adityadev Bhattacharjee and Kartick Charan Das, while addressing a huge gathering. The crowd followed them upto the gate of the Police Station where Sj. Kishori Dutt again tried to deliver a speech, Police however dispersed them as a result of which

two persons were injured. Sj. Dutt was released on the evening and the other two on the next day.

21-5-32. 2 members of the A.B.S.A. Sj. Nirmal Kumar Banerjee and Chintamoni Addhya were arrested for holding a meeting in the College Square ; they were severely assaulted within the Police Station and released late at night.

22-5-32. A procession started from Sradhananda Park ; two of the processionists Sj. S. Sarkar and Madan Mohan Malakar were arrested while distributing leaflets.

Sj. Sailendra Nath Bhattacharji, Assistant Secretary of the A.B.S.A. was also arrested from the procession but was released subsequently.

25-5-32. In observance of the Congress Day the A.B.S.A. organised a meeting in the Sradhananda Park. Sj. Bejoy Gopal Chatterji and 4 other members of the Association were arrested while reading the Congress resolution. Sj. Bejoy Chatterji was convicted to 6 month's R.I.

A meeting was organised at the College Square. Sj. Bankim Halder with two others was arrested while reading the resolutions adopted at the Delhi Congress but they were released subsequently.

30-5-32. A procession was organised which started from the Sradhananda Park, the processionists after parading through the Mirzapur Street entered the College Square, there Police arrested Bimal Kumar Brahma and five others. They were however let off late at night.

31-5-32. Three members of the Association were arrested while picketing the foreign cloth shops at Sadasukha Katra. They were brutally assaulted on the way to the Thana.

6-6-32. Sj. Harendra Kumar Chatterjee and Subodh Kumar Mondal were arrested while distributing leaflets in the Wellington Square.

Sj. Sachindra Chakravorty, 32nd Acting President of the Students' War Council with Abanindra Roy was arrested while addressing a meeting, they were subsequently let off.

8-6-32. A procession was organised, 2 of the processionists were arrested.

9-6-32. A big procession started from Amherst Street proceeded through Mirzapur Street, Sjta. Maya Ghose, 33rd Acting President of the Students' War Council along with

Snehalata Dutt, Dipti Ghose, Bina Dey, Nani Bala Pal, Kamalranee Sircar was arrested. They were convicted to six months R.I.

11-6-32. The police searched a room in the Radio Corporation in College Street and got some bulletins, A.B.S.A. badges and leaflets and arrested Sj. Hrishikesh Chanda 34th Acting President of the Students' War Council, Gopendranandan Chowdhury, Assistant Secretary South Calcutta D.S.A., Sukumar Roy. They were brought for trial and were convicted to 4 months R.I.

15-6-32. The police arrested Sj. Khemendra Mohan Sen, who was elected as the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Political Conference ; he was detained under emergency Power Ordinance.

Sj. Sailendra Nath Bhattacherjee was arrested under the same Ordinance at his residence. They were released after seven days detention.

Sj. Sachindra Das Gupta was arrested at Rungpur Station and was detained for a day in the Hazat.

Sj. Kishori Lal Dutta was arrested from Mahisbathan while attending the 24 Parganas District Political Conference and sentenced to 6 months R.I.

Sj. Dayal Prasanna Kumar, Member Working Committee A.B.S.A. was arrested on the 26th January at Hugli and was sentenced to 2 years R.I.

Sj. Bejoy Kumar Hore of Jalpaiguri, was arrested from Midnapur and sentenced to 3 months R.I.

Special mention must be made of the students of the Bengal College of Engineering and Technology of Jadavpur, who contributed the largest quota at the disposal of the A.B.S.A. about 300 students of the College which are 50 per cent. of their actual strength of the College participated in the movement. Many of their workers who went to almost all the Muffussil centres rendered invaluable services and were awarded heavy punishment. It is a good augury that students of the Post Graduate Classes have also come in large numbers, about 100 of them being convicted.

Success of the students movement in Bengal is mainly due to the response given by the students of all the Institutions in Calcutta and Muffussils. In Calcutta, students of Astanga

Ayurved, Bangabashi, City, Vidyasagar, Ripon, Scottish Church and Bethune College contributed good numbers.

In the above report a gist of the activities of the A.B.S.A. in Calcutta is given. All the D.S.A.'s in Calcutta worked in co-operation with the Central organisation. Owing to many inconveniences and obstacles in getting information from the Muffussil districts, it is not possible to publish their activities in detail. As far as could be gathered is given below.

**BURDWAN D.S.A.** From the begining of the movement, the D.S.A. sent workers for propagating ideas in the villages. Most of them were arrested in the villages. Sj. Birendra Nath Bhattacherjee was arrested while addressing a large gathering at Iswaritotta. The Local Students Association was declared unlawful. Sj. Gurudas Banerjee was sentenced to 2 years R.I. for leading a procession. Panchanan Seal was sentenced to 1 year's R.I. for the same offence. The house of Santosh Kumar Khan, Capt. of the volunteer Corps was searched and he was arrested. Now the D.S.A. is doing no-rent campaign in Raina area.

**BOGRA D.S.A.** Jatindra Mazumdar, President Bogra D.S.A. was served with a notice on Emergency Powers Ordinance to leave the District which he disobeyed, as a consequence of which he was sent to Jail. In such a small district more than 125 students have been arrested in connection with Civil disobedience movement. In Jaipur, Hili, Sherpur, Alamdingi the students work is very satisfactory. At Hili Sj. Krishna Kumar Sarkar, Secretary Hili Students Association was arrested with some other students while hoisting the National Flag.

**MYMENSINGHA D.S.A.** Raj Kumar Sarker was arrested as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Mymensingha District Political Conference. Sukhada Ranjan Roy along with Jyotirmoy Mazumdar, Dictator Mymensingha D.S.A. Narendra Nath Chakravorty, Assistant Secretary Mymensingha D.S.A. and some others was also arrested in connection with the Conference. Jagannath Saha was arrested for holding procession but subsequently left off. Sudhir Bhattacherjee was ruthlessly assaulted by the Police while hoisting the National Flag. As a result of which his hand was fractured. Nabendu Dutt toured in the Villages.

KHULNA D.S.A. Santisaran Roy, member of the A.B.S.A. Working Committee has been imprisoned. Pasupati Chatterjee, Dictator Khulna D.S.A. is serving his term of imprisonment. On the 1st of June the Police raided A.B.S.A. Office in Khulna and arrested some workers.

JESSORE D.S.A. Some student workers namely Sj. Adhir Sen, Jogesh Roy, Ananta Mitra and Sudhangsu Gorai were arrested by the Railway Act. In Jessore the A.B.S.A. workers organised meeting and processions but the Police did not interfere much.

NOAKHALI D.S.A. Most of the prominent student workers of the district were served with notices under Emergency Powers Ordinance. Sj. Jamini Sen, Secretary, Literary Section of the Students Association, Sj. Snehamoy Dutt of the Volunteer Corps, were arrested, while addressing a meeting as a protest against the arrest of Mahatmaji. Police searched the local A.B.S.A. office on several occasions and took away all the papers from it. On Independence day students held a big meeting on the Congress Compound. All the students of the Ramanath Hall were fined by the Principal of the College on their refusing to put down the National Flag hoisted by them in the Hindu Hostel Compound. Keshab Lal Ghose President D.S.A. with 3 others were arrested and convicted for entering the confiscated Congress Compound and addressing a meeting there. Sj. Nirmal Dutt of Volunteer Corps and Sachin Baruah were arrested for disobeying the notice served under the Emergency Powers Ordinance. Sj. Jagadish Banerjee courted arrest early in the month of January. Benoy Lal Bhup was arrested while hoisting National Flag on the Bengal Provincial Political Conference, and convicted to 6 months R.I. All the Gymnasiums of the Students Association have been declared unlawful and confiscated.

HOWRAH D.S.A. The lead given by the A.B.S.A. was quickly taken up by the Howrah D.S.A. The War Council was formed with Sj. Sujan Sircar a Post Graduate student as the First Dictator. The council arranged a few public meetings, sent workers to the villages for no-rent campaign and regularly published leaflets. Sj. Sujan Sarkar Vice President Howrah D.S.A. Surhid Biswas Secy. Howrah D.S.A., Brindabon Behari Bose, Assistant Secretary Howrah D.S.A. and two prominent

members of the Association, Sj. Sailen Mitra and Sukumar Das were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, several others were convicted in connection with Howrah Seva Dal Movement.

'TIPPERAH D.S.A. On the receipt of the news of the arrest of Mahatmaji a meeting of the students was organised by Sj. Dwijendra Bejoy Roy the first Dictator of the D.S.A. Sj. Ramesh Chandra Ghose presided. Sj. Roy was arrested subsequently under the Emergency Power Ordinance. Under the presidency of Sj. Kasiswar Das Gupta, 2nd Dictator a meeting was held as a protest against the arrest of some prominent Congress leaders of the district. Sj. Das Gupta was arrested on the spot of the meeting under the Emergency Powers Ordinance. Sj. Probodh Mazumder was arrested under the Emergency Powers Ordinance. A Meeting of the students and public was held under the presidency of Sj. Dasharathi Mukherjee another meeting was announced to be held in the Town Hall Compound but the police blocked the compound. Sj. Dasharathi Mukherjee tried to enter the compound when he was put under arrest. Later on Fani Mozuunder with two others workers of Abhoy Asrami was also arrested. The public then held the meeting on the street. Police made lathi charges on the peaceful audience. The batch of students volunteers went to Contain under the guidance of Lalmohan Bhowmik. Sj. Ramesh Chandra Ghose and Haripada Bhattacharjee were arrested and subsequently released and were served with emergency notices which they disobeyed. Samarendra Roy was arrested while holding a procession. Nepal Chandra Dutt and Mrinal Chandra Dutt sons of Akhil Chandra Dutt have been convicted.

'SYLHET D.S.A. In the demonstration of the Independence day, the contribution of the students was considerable. Many students were severely wounded by the Armed Police and Gurkha force while were they marching on a procession. At Sunamganj the students of the Jubilee High School tried to hoist the national flag ; on getting the information Police appeared on the spot and arrested 40 students. On the day after the Independence day a meeting of the students was held under the presidency of Digendra Nath Acharya, urging the students to join in the fight for independence. As a result

of the students participating so actively in the demonstration of the independence day Sj. Digendra Nath Acharya, Hemanga Kumar Biswas, Amulya Ghose and Sankar Roy were suspended and Sj. Chanchal Sarma was fined Rs. 10/- all of them were students of the M.C. College. In the aided High School 13 students were suspended from joining their classes for a month.

The response of the students is very great, they are picketing foreign shops, Wine and Ganja shops, addressing meetings, holding demonstrations as result of which many of them have received severe injuries from the Police lathi blows and a very large number of them have been convicted to various terms of imprisonment.

#### XIV

A.B.S.A's reply to certain questions posed by the India League delegation (London).

From India Tomorrow, 29th September, 1932.

A Reply

(AMARENDRA NATH ROY)

During the brief talks we had with the India League delegation at Calcutta, the members very kindly explained to us how India is being governed in the name of the British people. They pointed out to us that the average Britisher has very little knowledge of India, specially of the recent developments here. The handful of adventurers who came to India for business or for service, on their return, pass on as authorities on Indian affairs. And in recent years Britain has been so much occupied with her domestic affairs, her unemployment problem and the gloomy industrial outlook, that the common man has hardly any interest for what is happening in the remote parts of the Empire. Democracy in Britain, moreover, we may add (as pointed out by Mahatma Gandhi) is so superficial that, practically speaking, a handful of rich and powerful men really govern the country except in time of general elections. And elections can always be manipulated by lavish

expenditure, by the press, which is almost exclusively owned by the rich. These few men for their business and financial interests would always have India under their control and in the retired service man or the trader, long used to enjoy extraordinary privileges, they find a ready instrument of misrepresenting Indian affairs to the British voter.

Among the many mis-statements and untruths that find currency in the British press, two obstacles to Indian self-rule are generally believed to be quite formidable. One is India's inability to protect herself from foreign aggression on the Afghan frontier ; the other is that a religious or wealthy aristocracy will dominate and coerce the helpless peasant millions. To each of these two questions we of the younger generation need to give our own reply.

I shall not deal with the military question from a technical point of view as I am not at all competent to do so. The whole thing, however, is so absurd that I believe I shall be able to expose its unreality very briefly without entering into technical details. India has a population many more times than Afghanistan and all the adjacent states put together. Even if we accept the government's distinction of martial and non-martial races, the martial races also will far outnumber the people of the bordering states.\* Modern warfare is also no longer a question of individual bravery but of organisation, chemistry and mathematics. The Marhattas, the Sikhs, the Gurkhas and the Pathans fought the British valiantly and often defeated them but ultimately lost only because of their lack of scientific equipment. And science in India is far in advance of it is anywhere in Asia today.

I may also, last of all, say that a selfgoverning India, as we would like her to be, would only pursue a peaceful and non-aggressive policy and thus would not be involved in constant wars like the present British Government.

Now to come to the second question. When a Sydenham or a Churchill harps on this, we know that is pure propaganda.

\* It may be pointed out that the distinction between martial and non-martial races is extremely misleading. The so-called non-martial races of India e.g. the Bengalees though often lacking any positive inclination for the military life, may be disciplined into excellent soldiers by a call to their idealism. The Bengali soldiers of the war-time furnish clear evidence, if that is at all necessary.

But any genuine suspicion must be based on a very imperfect knowledge of present tendencies of Indian politics. Mahatma Gandhi, though not definitely a socialist in his economics, is the sincerest well-wisher of the poor that we know of. The uplist of the poor is his religion. And his influence over all, rich or poor, is so profound that it will be hardly possible for any group or individual in India, to successfully carry out a national policy that will not have his whole-hearted support. Even if we leave him out of account, there are very strong and active forces in India which will make bourgeois exploitation almost impossible. The Indian peasant or worker is just awaking from his age-long slumber. The common man is growing conscious that his politics must be intimately related to his daily bread. Amongst the younger generation of intelligentsia the emotional idealism of equalitarian doctrines is extraordinarily strong, far more than one is aware of from outside.

The recent mass movement of the Congress has been of much help to develop this tendency. Everywhere in India today there are signs of revolt. The workers are organising themselves, often making use of the powerful instruments of strikes and demonstrations ; the ryot is beginning to resist the inordinate greed of the land-lord and usurer. Age-long prejudices are fast crumbling down ; old beliefs and social practices are being challenged and repudiated. Out of this travail of strife a new generation of common man is being born, bold and self-conscious. They are today not aiming at mere political reconstruction but looking to a complete social revolution. The equalitarian idealism of youth together with the new-born self-consciousness of the masses will generate a force that will not only end foreign domination but also the strangulating grip of the land-lord.

## XV

Some Reviews and Opinions on Journals published by  
A.B.S.A.

"India Tomorrow (Puja special) Edited by Amarendra  
Nath Roy.

We are glad to note that this fortnightly journal which rightly claims to be the exponent of youth and student movement in our country, has been steadily growing in importance and popularity. This is just as it should be ; for nobody can disregard the voice of youth specially in these days when our country is practically building itself a-new in all departments of national life. This journal has been seeking to give a definite tone to that voice. In matters not only political, social, literary or economic but also in sports, aviation and sundry other subjects of interest to the youth, it has been regularly publishing articles which not only embody their opinions, hopes and aspirations but serve as a fillip to their energies.

It is rather a treat to go through the Puja Special of the journal which is under review. All the contributed articles as well as the collections which have found place here are of high standard of excellence. The editor in a signed article in the previous issue of the journal raised a controversy which we find has been continuing still. We hope it shall be carried on till a more or less well-defined conclusion emerges.....  
"(Advance 30/10/1932).

India Tomorrow (Annual Number) Edited by Amarendra Nath Roy.....

The annual number of this journal of youths appears to be an achievement... Besides the usual features of the paper, it contains some well written articles of topical interest specially to the students community. Dr. Sudhindra Nath Bose's sketch on "Roosevelt" (F.D. Roosevelt who had then been elected president of the U.S.A. for the first time) specially written for this number deserves particular mention..... (Advance 5/3/1933).

The following opinions regarding "Chatra" are illustrative of the journal's standing.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Iowa City

Department of Political Science

Dear Sir,

April 13, 1929.

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your magazine you were good enough to send me. It is an excellent publication.

I hope it will be generously patronized by the students of Bengal who want to know the world they live in, and the world they will live in to-morrow.

Thanking you again for your courtesy, I remain.

Cordially yours  
Sd/- Sudhindra Bose  
Dr. Sudhindra Bose.

Srijut Shushil Chandra Deb.  
Editor Chatra  
93-1-K, Baitakkhana Road,  
Calcutta, India.

From a perusal of the issues already published, I am convinced that the journal is quite befitting of the educated student community. We have a glimpse of the ideas that are now moving the students of the country and the direction of their thoughts and activities from the pages of the journal. I have whole-hearted sympathy for this noble effort of the student community.

Subhas Chandra Bose.

(Translated from Bengali).

"I appreciated the magazine much."  
Rash Behari Bose,  
Tokyo, Japan.

## XVI

### Students' Ram Mohan Roy Centenary (1933-34)

An address of welcome on behalf of Students Rammohan Centenary Exhibition Committee was presented to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Kamala Nehru on the afternoon of 17th January at the Exhibition pandal at Wellington Square.

Sj. Jitendra Nath Ghose on behalf of the students of Bengal offered a hearty welcome to Pandit Nehru and Mrs Nehru. Addressing the students, the Pandit said : "It is you who will form the coming generation. You will function in the public

activities. Todays are rapidly merged in the yesterdays. Tomorrows are yours. Therefore it is for you to think and make up your mind what that tomorrow is going to be. Bengal has never had to bear a crisis as it has today. But as a matter of fact the crisis is not Bengal's monopoly. It has faced all India. It has faced the whole world. Bengal however during the last two or three years had to bear a larger share of the burden. The only other province that might be compared with it in that respect was the North Western Frontier province which had to bear a terrible blow.

Regarding the object of his visit to the exhibition he said, 'I have come here partly because it is always a great pleasure to me to meet youngmen and partly because to pay my tributes of respect to him at whose name you are holding the exhibition.

Pandit Nehru feelingly referred to the contribution of Raja Rammohan Roy towards India's uplift. He came at a time when India was in a ferment. It was extremely difficult to get out of the old ruts and it required remarkable wisdom and courage. The Raja possessed that courage and wisdom. 'Raja Rammohan' asserted Panditji 'was a rebel'. He was no doubt in good terms with British authorities, and yet in spite of that, he was fundamentally a rebel. He saw the change coming and did not submit to the conditions simply because they managed to exist. Romain Rolland, the great French savant said "thought if not put into action is abortion." The Raja translated into action what he thought in life. . . . (Advance, January 19, 1934.)

## XVII

Shri J. M. Sen Gupta's address to the  
All-Bengal students conference,  
Calcutta, 1931.

(Amrita Bazar Patrika—10-3-31.)

The A.B.S.A. conference resumed its sitting on Sunday (8-3-31).

The conference opened with the song "Bandemataram". Mr. & Mrs. J. M. Sen Gupta arrived at the conference and were

cordially received and taken to dias where he addressed the gathering.

Sj. Sen Gupta in the course of his speech said that he would start his speech with humble apologies. He was extremely glad to have the opportunity to express his gratitude to the President-elect Sja Kainala Devi Chattopadhyaya who was the first lady to lead the women in the struggle for freedom and Mr. C. R. Reddy was an incarnation of sacrifice. He was sorry that he could not attend the first day's sitting and could not attend in the reception of them.

Proceeding the speaker said that it was by providence that he came into this hall to-day when his young friends were discussing a resolution about the Delhi settlement which had been arrived at between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi. He was sorry to hear that the young friends were expressing their disapproval of the settlement. They were all anxious for the release of all prisoners violent or nonviolent. But they should know that the speaker himself and Mahatma Gandhi equally like themselves were all anxious for the release of the prisoners. There could not be any peace in the country so long those prisoners were in jail. But they should know that only truce has been declared and could anybody point out any line in the history of the world that soldiers were set free during truce? If they really understand the real meaning of the word "truce" they should not weaken the cause of the nation by creating a division in this way. In this truce they had got back those who were in jail by participating in it as soldiers in the Civil Disobedience movement. His friends should not think otherwise. They should think that the 500 detenus who were in jail without trial were all his co-workers in the Congress. The speaker had pressed the question in the working committee and Mahatma Gandhi also spoke for them and he was sure that they would be released as soon as possible.

His heart broke to-day to see that many of his co-workers were still in jail and if they give certain hint to the world that they differed from Mahatma Gandhi their position would be precarious. At the dawn of peace in the country if they sing a disunion the men who would meet at the peace table would be weakened and further progress of the nation would be at an end if they were attacked in that manner from behind. To-day

for the first time in the history of the country a document has been issued by the mighty Govt. of India telling the people of the world about truce terms of settlement between the Indian National Congress and His Majesty's Government. If they really wished to think let them think the position of the country through National Congress. To-day the people of the country were thinking of the release of political prisoners. If they were true to the Congress they would have to release them not by criticising the action of the working committee or the leaders but by obeying the mandate of the Congress and following the non-violent programme of that great institution of the nation.

Speaking about the achievements, Mr. Sen Gupta said that, for the first time in the history of the nation they saw that their mothers and sisters stood by their sides on the great fight for freedom. Thousands of women in every district, town and city and several thousands in Bombay went to jail. There was another big achievement that the Indian National Congress demonstrated before the world that India wished to be free and that she could be free by non-violent war.

In conclusion the speaker prayed to God to make their attempt successful in bringing real peace in the country.

## XVIII

### 1933 CALCUTTA CONGRESS SESSION AND THE ROLE OF STUDENTS

The Indian National Congress usually holds its annual session every year. After the Demand for Complete Independence resolution had been passed on the 1st. of January, 1930 at the Lahore session under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the country took an oath of Complete Independence 25 days thereafter on the 26th of January, 1930. Gandhiji started his historic Dandi March to break the Salt Law in April 1930 and millions of people followed him and courted arrest and confinement. The impact of the great mass movement was so heavy that Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India called Gandhiji to Delhi and made a pact with him which historically is called the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This Pact was ratified at the Karachi

session of the Congress presided over by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in 1931. Large number of youths and students who had participated in the movement joined this Congress session. The All Bengal Students' Association which played a significant role in the movement also sent some delegates to this session. Gandhiji went to London to attend the Second Round Table Conference, but his claim for Independence on behalf of India was not listened to by the British Government and immediately on his return to India in December 1931 he along with other members of the Working Committee of the Congress was arrested and put to prison. The second phase of the Civil Disobedience movement against British Rule in India was started from early January, 1932. The students of Bengal again took an active part and the A.B.S.A. came forward in organising the students of Bengal in strengthening the movement by open participation in the mass movement. Their activities soon brought A.B.S.A. on the forefront.

The Congress organisation had been banned and it was not possible to function openly, much less to hold an open annual session of the Congress. But the enthusiasm of Congress workers and the people at large could not be curbed by the Rule of the Rod. They organised the 1932 session in Delhi and large number of people from all over India flocked to Delhi and held the session, brief but bold and solemn. A.B.S.A. sent 30 delegates to the Delhi session and 18 of them could reach Delhi in time to join the session. Prominent among the participants were Sri Prasun Ghosh, Sri Raghavendra Rao Jagirdar from Santiniketan.

Subsequently, it was decided to hold the next annual session of the Congress in Calcutta in March 1933. The leaders were still then in prison and the Congress organisation still under ban. The ruthless policy of the British Government gave no peace to the people. In Bengal particularly it was an Ordinance regime under which jungle rule was mercilessly followed by the notorious John Anderson. British soldiers marched through the quiet villages of Bengal to intimidate the people, and thousands of youth were detained for years without trial. The Press was also gagged. In that perspective it was not easy to organise an open session of the Congress. It was left to the handful of Congress leaders still out of prison to organise the

Congress session. But no sooner were the names of the Chairman, the General Secretary and other members of the Reception Committee were known than they were arrested and put to prison with or without trial. With the leaders of the Congress, including Dr. Prafulla Ghosh, some leaders of the A.B.S.A. were also arrested and put to prison. They included late Sailen Mitra, Sri Amar Roy, Sri Arunangsu De and late Aswini Gupta.

The students were not, however, without their own resources. Other workers of the A.B.S.A. came forward to shoulder the great responsibility. They sent circulars to the district units, personally went round many districts and made arrangements so that a number of delegates could come from all over Bengal to join this banned but historic session of the Congress. In Calcutta each group of persons named as the Chairman and General Secretary of the Reception Committee were whisked away. The last A.B.S.A. worker thus to go was Sri Harasundar Chakravarty who was named as the General Secretary with Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Both of them were put on trial and given six months' R.I. There were other workers working in Calcutta and prominent among them were Sarvasree Sakti Ranjan Bose, Gunada Majumdar, Kshemendramohan Sen, Bimal Mukherji, Sudhin Majumdar, Gopen Chowdhury, Jatin Chakravarty and late Suraj Krishen.

Series of meetings were held secretly almost daily in Calcutta with Congress workers and leaders to finalise the details of the session and to exchange notes about the contacts in the districts and other provinces. From early morning till late at night the student workers worked indefatigably to make the Congress session a success. The main contacts from the Congress side at the time were Sri Mihirlal Chatterjee and Sri Promothonath Banerjee (Midnapur). The student workers were so much trusted that a great deal of responsibility fell on them who were all Post Graduate students in their twenties.

When the day of the session drew near, the student-workers were taken into full confidence about the vital details for holding the session. On their suggestion the venue was selected at the Tramways Goomtee at Esplanade Junction where almost all the trams from different sections would travel.<sup>4</sup> This is the old Goomtee near Chowringhee side. To accommodate the delegates

45 houses were selected in Calcutta and Howrah and arrangements were made to look after their minimum needs. To make the arrangements, finances were necessary and adequate funds were placed at the disposal of student workers.

The selection of the President of the session was another important matter. At a meeting it was decided to request Mrs. J. M. Sen Gupta to preside over the session in Calcutta. It was left to the student workers to approach Mrs. Sen Gupta. Sri J. M. Sen Gupta who had been put under detention in early January of 1932 on his way to Bombay to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee, was then brought to Calcutta Medical College for treatment. Mrs. Sen Gupta, a noble English lady, who stood steadfastly behind her husband in all trials and tribulations since 1921, gladly accepted the proposal subject to the approval of her ailing husband. The next day she brought the approval with a message from her husband to the students and other workers of the Congress to hold the National Flag high with honour and sacrifice.

Delegates from the districts and other provinces came pouring in. It was estimated that about 10,000 ten thousand delegates would arrive in Calcutta from various parts of the country. There was, of course, the danger of a large number of them being arrested on the way. The Delhi session in 1932 had opened the eyes of the Government and they were making all preparations to thwart the holding of the session. With a better Intelligence Service in Bengal the Government posted their men at all important junctions and each train was closely watched. But the organisers were not to be defeated. Their light of determination had been fired by a burning patriotism based on sacrifice and self-less work. The Government chase was on and although a large number of delegates were arrested on the way, 50% of them numbering about 5000 ultimately arrived in Calcutta. They were received and taken to different camps mainly by the student workers. Scores of these student workers worked day and night. It was no easy task to arrange for the accommodation and food for such a large number of delegates eluding the eye of the vigilant police. But it was successfully done. It was necessary to keep close contact with the delegates and to send them instructions as to the venue, the mode of transport, the programme of the session etc. Instruc-

tions were systematically issued and strict secrecy was maintained till the final hour of the session. The authorities had taken precaution and had closed all public parks where the session could possibly be held. To keep the venue secret from the police was, therefore, a creditable performance of the organisers.

On the appointed day, that is on the 1st April 1933, delegates had been scattered at different points in the busy Esplanade and it had been explained to them that on a signal given by whistle, they would proceed to the Goomtee. Mrs. Sen Gupta was waiting in a car in the lane north of the Metro Cinema which was just opposite the Goomtee. On the signal being given, the delegates in their thousands dramatically rushed to the venue with full throated and joyous recital of Bande Mataram. Mrs. Sen Gupta's car sped straight to the Goomtee and she joined the other delegates already assembled. The police was taken by surprise and some of them went to the telephone booth for reinforcements from their Headquarters. The Congress session was then started with the speech by the President, Mrs. Sen Gupta. She ignored the warning of the Assistant Police Commissioner of Calcutta and finished reading her prepared speech. Immediately thereafter, she was put under arrest and taken to Police Headquarters. Another Congress worker Sri Gopikabilas Sen who was elected General Secretary of the Reception Committee was also taken into custody. Then followed an episode which should remain as an example of unparalleled bravery and patriotism in the history of our national struggle.

The arrest of Mrs. Sen Gupta did not alter the character of this Congress session. Delegates came forward to take her place as the President. As soon as a delegate started to repeat the speech and to renew the pledge for complete independence he was mercilessly beaten by the brutal White force of the Government. The pledge paper was taken on the left hand, and when a heavy blow fell on the hand, it was taken on the right. With a heavier blow on the right hand, on the shoulder and on the head too, the delegate was incapacitated but his hold on the sacred paper was not loosened. He was then pushed into a Police Van or truck and left at a distance. His next colleague came forward and the same brutal force was used against him. There was not a murmur of protest, not a word of condemna-

tion, not a wink at the charger. There was another memorable incident. Sri Ramsundar Singh, a veteran Congress worker of Midnapur was holding the National Flag on a pole. The flag was an eye-sore to the Britishers. One Police Sergeant tried to snatch the flag. When he failed, he started to beat Ramsundar with his fat baton. Ramsundar held his flag fast to his chest. Heavy blows of the baton fell on his shoulder and back, but Ramsundar went on shouting the National slogan 'Vande Mataram'—I bow to Thee, My Motherland—without releasing his hold on the flag pole. Not till he was beaten to semi-consciousness and dragged to the Police Van with the flag still held fast to his chest could the Police remove the sight of the National Flag challenging the unlawful occupation of our Motherland by a foreign Government. There was another incident, though minor but poignant. A lady delegate from Bengal alighted from the tram to join the session. She had a child in her arms. While alighting from the tram she shouted 'Vande Mataram' and in her excitement the child fell from her lap. With no abatement of her excitement she picked up the child and bravely marched forward to delegates arena near by. She did not wait for a moment to examine if the child had suffered any injury. The whole area was surcharged with deeds of bravery, dignity and burning patriotism which would remain as unforgettable scenes to the present frustrated national workers who had the fortune to witness these heavenly sights.

Under these circumstances the session could not last very long. But it was neither a brief session. When the Police was tired of arresting hundreds of workers, they adopted a different strategy. They made mass arrests, took the delegates to the Fort William or the Police Headquarters at Lalbazar, beat them with sticks and then left them on the street. This had been anticipated and First Aid Posts were opened at different places. One such post was inside the Corporation Building which was not far from the Esplanade. The injured delegates were collected and taken to the First Aid Posts for immediate medical attention. A group of delegates taken to the First Aid Post in the Corporation Building decided to march back to the venue of the Congress session. A procession was started and when it reached the Chowringhee Road, the number swelled to 200. They were stopped by the Mounted Police before they could reach the

venue. They were taken inside the Fort William, mercilessly beaten and let off on the street.

Most of the delegates were strangers in Calcutta. It was a job to collect them from different points left by the Police and to take them to their respective camps, and to attend to their immediate needs. This was, however, done with meticulous care and they were looked after till they were despatched to their homes with proper railway tickets.

Among the delegates who were arrested on the way was Shri M. S. Aney. Shri Aney was put in the Midnapore Central Jail and bravely faced the inhuman torture perpetrated on him for his refusal to bow to the humiliating orders of the Jail Authorities. Midnapore Officials were notorious for their brutality. Shri Aney a front rank Congress-man was not left in peace. Another Congress leader of Bihar, Shri Binodananda Jha who later became the Chief Minister of Bihar in independent India got heavy blows from the Police along with his colleagues from Bihar while attending the Congress Session. Dr. N. B. Khare was also among the delegates.

The 1933 Calcutta Session of the Congress was historic both in bravery and importance. The best Intelligence of British Government in India could not foil the attempt of the workers to make the Session a success. The student workers played a vital role in this historic session. They did all the detailed work of responsibility of the session to the point of submitting a report of their activities with the accounts of funds delivered to them for the work.

A large number of these student workers later distinguished themselves in the cause of the underdogs during the national struggle. The lessons of 1932 and 1933 open sessions of the Congress in defiance of British opposition gave a new light to the younger generation working inside the Congress. So far, the movement was restricted to local resources mobilising small groups of people in various parts of the country. These sessions proved that a mass assembly could be organised with wide communications in far off places under different situations and that a mass struggle with wider perspective and deeper bases could be organised for a final blow to British occupation. The emergence of the young socialist group inside the Congress a year later was a sequel of these mass assemblies and the great

struggle of Quit India in 1942 drew its lessons from these sessions. The 1933 Congress session was, therefore, a great event in our national struggle.

## LIST OF MEMBERS WHO SUFFERED FOR THE CAUSE

List of Members who suffered in connection with the activities of the A.B.S.A. The list is prepared from available records but is very incomplete and contain hardly ten per cent of those who actually made sacrifices in the cause. Some names appear more than once as the compilation is made on the basis of chronological sequence of events.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Promode Kumar Ghoshal.	Rusticated for breach of discipline for arranging demonstration of national flag and singing of "Bande Mataram" on the occasion of Founders Day. Assaulted by police on the occasion of anti-Simon Commission demonstration, January—February 1928.
Subodh Ranjan Das Gupta.	Rusticated for breach of discipline in connection with anti-Simon Commission demonstration. Presidency College, February 1928.
Birendra Kumar Guha.	— Do —
Gobinda Lal Banerjee.	Suspended and charged for breach of discipline in connection with anti-Simon Commission demonstration. Presidency College, February 1928.
Karuna Mitra.	— Do —
Provat Banerjee.	— Do —
Lokesh Chandra Guha Roy.	— Do —
Amarendra Nath Roy.	— Do —

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Arunangshu De.	Assaulted, Arrested and later convicted in connection with anti-Simon Commission demonstration February 1928.
Sachindra Nath Mitra.	Expelled from Scottish Churches College for joining student movement March 1928.
Bejoy Kumar Hore. Chunilal Bose. Swaprakas Dutta. Birendra Datta. Sasadhar Kar.	Convicted at Jalpaiguri, for sedition (March 1930) for displaying seditious and revolutionary slogans on the occasion of immersion ceremony of Shri Durga in Oct. 1929.
Promode Kumar Ghoshal	Arrested and Convicted April 1930 for participation in C. D. movement.
Sachindra Nath Mitra. Sreepada Majumder. Durgapada Das Gupta. Sisir Banerjee. Nalini R. Kar. Abinash Bhattacharyya (B.P.S.A.) Kalipada Ghose.	Arrested and later convicted for open defiance of sedition law. College Square, 11th April 1930.
Bibhuti Bhusan Gupta Bhaya. Prasun Chandra Ghose. Suraj Kissen. Santosh Chatterji. Promode R. Sen.	Seriously injured by lathi charge in the anti-sedition law demonstration College Square, 11-4-1930.
	Arrested and later convicted for open defiance of Law of sedition along with J. M. Sen Gupta. Cornwallis Square, 12-4-1930.
	Student of Cathedral Missionary School arrested for distribution of leaflets calling for hartal on 17-4-30 declared by A.B.S.A.

Name.	Details. *
Bepin Behari Ghose.	Student of Bangabashi College convicted for leading a procession in defiance of police orders April 1930.
Priyanath Ganguly. Arabinda Ghose. Mahendra Sarkar. Manmatha Nath Datta. Naresh Chandra Guha.	Arrested for activities in furtherance of A.B.S.A's programme. April 1930.
Keshablal Ghose.	Secretary, Dacca D. S. A. arrested for unlawful activities, April 1930. Detained under B.C.L.A.
Jagadish Chatterjee.	Secretary, Noakhali D.S.A. arrested April 1930.
Birendra Nath Das Gupta.	Secretary 24 Paraganas District Students Association originally arrested in connection with Mechuabazar bomb case was arrested under B.C.L.A on acquittal June 1930.
Manindra Mohan Lahiri.	Secretary A.B.S.A., arrested and detained under B.C.L.A. June, 1930.
Paresh Ch. Guha (Rangpur).	Arrested & detained under B.C.L.A. May 1930.
Satish Ch. Ghose (Bagerhat).	Arrested and detained under B.C.L.A. May 1930.
Nalindra Mohan Sen Gupta.	" "
Sushil Chandra Dev.	" "
Kumud Bihari Sen Gupta (Tipperah)	" "
Kumud Lal Bhattacharyya (B.P.S.A.).	" "
Samarendra Mitra (Khulna).	Arrested and detained under B.C.L.A. Seriously assaulted.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Harasundar Chakrabarty.	Civil Disobedience movement Midnapore June 1930. Arrested and convicted.
Sitansu Sinha (Murshidabad).	,, 1930.
Gurudas Banerjee.	" "
Santi Ranjan Sen Gupta.	Arrested and Severely assaulted, Picketing at Presidency College July 1930.
Arunangshu De.	Severely assaulted, Picketing at Presidency College, July 1930.
Ajit Kumar Dutt. Amarendra Nath Roy. Chuni Thakur.	,, " ,, " Assaulted and convicted for Picketing at Presidency College, July 1930.
Narayan Chandra Lahiri	Convicted in connection with Civil Disobedience movement, July 1930.
Ajit Kumar Dutt.	Convicted in connection with Civil Disobedience movement, July 1930.
Mohit Chatterjee (Nadia) Samarajit Banerjee (Nadia).	,, "
Ranjit Banerjee (Howrah).	,, "
Paresh Chandra Roy (Mymensingh)	,, "
Kshirode Dutt (Midnapore).	Arrested and Detained 1930.
Tushar Kumar Chatterjee (Hooghly)	Convicted in C.D. movement 1930.
Atul Bose (N. Calcutta)	Picketing at Bara-Bazar 1930. Convicted
Sailendra K. Mukherjee.	C.D. movement 1930. Con- victed.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Bankim Dutt (Chittagong).	C.D. movement 1930. Convicted.
Gopinath Majumdar (Nadia).	" "
Dhirendra Nath Das Gupta (Chittagong).	" "
Bejoy Singh Nahar (B.P.S.A.).	" "
Kshitish Chandra Bhowmik.	Convicted in C.D. mevement 1930 later detained under B.C. L.A.
Swaprakash Dutt (Jalpaiguri).	C.D. movement 1930. Convicted.
Krishna Kumar Chatterjee.	Assaulted by police for picketing before Howrah Zilla School, July 1930.
Gopal Sen.	Severely assaulted for picketing before Presidency College, July 1930.
Golam Gaffoor.	" "
Ajit Banerjee.	" "
Pratul Ch. Das.	" "
Indu Bhusan Sarkar	" "
Kshiti Mohan Ganguly.	" "
Pasupati Mukherji.	" "
Arabinda Mitra.	" "
Sourendra Ghose.	Severely beaten for Picketing before Collins Institute, convicted for 3 months R.I.
Ajit Bhattacharyya.	Died as a resu't of severe beating by police at Dacca University.
Digindra Lal Banerjee.	Arrested for Picketing at Dacca University and Inter College.
Phulendu Sen Roy.	" "
Nripendra Bose.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Dulal Ch. Chunder.	Convicted for picketing before Presidency College.
Benoy Kumar Talukder.	" "
Gunendra Lal Mitra.	" "
Basanta K. Ghose.	" "
Pulin Giri.	" "
Kshirode Ch. Mala.	" "
Himangshu Dutta.	" "
Ananta Bhattacherjee.	" "
Rakhal Ch. Guha.	" "
Dharitri Mohan Ganguli.	" "
Kshiti Mohan Ganguli.	" "
Gobindapada Datta (Nadia).	Arrested and detained B. C. L. A., 1930. Lost one arm in Hijli Detention camp firing.
Naresh Chandra Shome.	Arrested and Detained under B.C.L.A. 1930.
Benode Banerjee.	" "
Uttar Kumar Dhar.	" "
Dwijendra Nandy (Chittagong).	" "
Brojen Brahma	" "
Durga Das Gupta.	Arrested and convicted C.D. M. 1930.
Jnan Sarker.	" "
Bejoy Krishna Chakraborty (Midnapore).	" "
Harish Chandra Panda (Midnapore).	" "
Nitai Ch. Ghose (Khulna).	" "
Shyamapada Banerjee.	" "
Subodh Ch. Biswas (Sylhet).	" "
Surendra Nath Mitra (Nadia).	" "
Annada Das Gupta (Nadia).	" "
Chunilal Bose.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>	
Jadugopal Goswami (Bogra).	Arrested and convicted C.D. M. 1930.	
Sibsankar Chakraborty (Nator).	"	"
Bholanath Mukherjee (Maldah).	"	"
Jitendra Nath Pal (Faridpur).	"	"
Madhusudan Pal (Faridpur).	"	"
Jagadish Chandra Ghosh (Faridpur).	"	"
Bhabesh Ch. Bhattachary- ya (Jessore).	"	"
Baidya Nath Sarker (Jessore).	"	"
Satya Ranjan Mukherjee (Murshidabad).	"	"
Benoy Kumar Majumder.	Convicted for picketing before Presidency College.	
Kanai Lal Ghose.	"	"
Jit Kumar Banerjee.	"	"
Ramranjan Bhattacherji.	"	"
Sanat Kumar Chatterji.	"	"
Rabindra Nath Roy.	"	"
Dhirendra Nath Ganguly.	"	"
Sushil Kumar Choudhury.	"	"
Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee.	"	"
Abil Kumar Roy.	"	"
Nirmalendu Das Gupta.	"	"
Purna Chandra Chou- dhury.	"	"
Aditya Mohan Roy.	"	"
Anil Kumar Dutta.	"	"
Suresh Majumder.	"	"
Manoranjan Pal.	"	"

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Subrid Kumar Dutt.	Suspended (Barisal College) and recommended for rustication for issuing appeal for suspension of studies, July 1930.
Sudhir Guha Thakurta.	" "
Dhirendra Roy Chowdhury.	" "
Harendra K. Ghose.	" "
Atul Chandra Nag.	" "
Suresh Kumar Ganguly.	" "
Sm. Mukul Sen.	" "
Jyoti Prokash Roy Choudhury (Burdwan).	Convicted in C.D. movement Died in Jail, 1930.
Gourgopal Samonta (Burdwan).	Convicted in C.D. movement Died in Jail, 1930.
Renukar Chatterjee (Murshidabad).	Arrested and convicted C.D. M. 1930.
Mukunda Lal Chakraborty (Dacca).	" "
Sushanta Maity (Midnapur).	" "
Panchanon Bose (Hooghly).	" "
Abdus Sattar.	" "
Manoranjan Dhar (B.P.S.A.).	" "
Ajit Kumar Som (B.P.S.A.).	" "
Rabin Sarker (North Calcutta).	" "
Brojen Sarker (North Calcutta).	" "
Adyanath Bhattacharyya (North Calcutta).	" "
Nripen Choudhury.	" "
Sunil K. Das (Howrah).	" "
Ashoke Chandra Sen.	Arrested and Detained under B.C.L.A.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>	
Tejamoy Ghosh (Dacca).	Arrested and Detained under B.C.L.A.	
Rebati Mohan Burman.	"	"
Sm. Renu Sen.	"	"
Anilendra Nath Roy.	"	"
Hares Chandra Bhattacharyya.	"	"
Byomkesh Lahiri (Rajshahi).	"	
Sudhangshu Sarma (Sylhet).	Convicted in C.D. movement Died in Jail, (1930).	
Surendra Nath Das Gupta (Rajsahи).	Convicted in C.D. movement 1930.	
Narendra Nath Roy.	Convicted in C.D. movement 1930.	
Promoda Charan Ganguly (Hooghly).	Convicted C.D. movement 1930.	
Kiran Ch. Das (B.P.S.A.)	Arrested and detained under B.C.L.A.	
Santosh Kumar Sen.	Convicted for picketing before Presidency College July, 1930.	
Kamala P. Guha Roy.	"	"
Atul Chandra Ganguly.	"	"
Debaprosad Banerjee.	"	"
Atul Sen.	"	"
Mahendra Nath Das.	"	"
Sreemanta Banerjee.	"	"
Harendra Das.	"	"
Subal Banerjee.	"	"
Ansu Dutta.	"	"
Kiron Ch. Das.	"	"
Kalipada Karag.	"	"
Arabinda Datta.	Convicted for picketing at Oriental Seminary, July 1930.	
Ramesh Chakraborty (Comilla).	C.D. Movement, 1930. Con- victed.	

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Banbehari Chaudhury.	Expelled from Rajshahi College.
Nripendra Bhattacharyya.	„ „
Arabinda Ghose.	„ „
Manas Gobinda Sen. (Rajshahi).	Arrested in connection with No rent compaign Dec., 1931.
Sankaracharya Maitra.	„ „
Nibaran Dutta (Comilla).	Arrested in connection with preparations of C.D. Movement.
Haribhusan Majumder.	„ „
Sm. Amita Dutta.	Arrested and convicted, C.D. Movement 1932.
Sm. Bibha Dutta.	„ „
Nabendu Dutta Majumder.	„ „
Sachindra Nath Mitra.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.
Krishna Kumar Chatterjee.	„ „
Sm. Kalyani Das.	„ „
Sudhansu Bose.	„ „
Sudhindra Mohan Majumder.	„ „
Sudhindra Neogy.	„ „
Gunada Majumder.	„ „
Sanat Sarker.	„ „
Sailendra Nath Mitra.	„ „
Ram Lal Kundoo.	„ „
Satyendra Narayan Majumder.	„ „
Amala Devi.	„ „
Nripendra Mohan Bose.	„ „
Bimal Chakraborty.	„ „
Manmatha Choudhury.	„ „
Pt. Suraj Kissen.	„ „
Sanat Banerjee.	„ „
Sudhansu Roy.	„ „
Jyotirmoy Sen Gupta.	„ „
Jiten Ghose.	„ ..

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Nabajiban Ghose.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.
Bibhuti Gupta Bhaya.	" "
Bimal Mukherjee.	" "
Shiabux D. Mody.	" "
Ajit Kumar Dutta.	" "
Sishu Kumar Chakraborty.	" "
Ranjit Kumar Ghose.	" "
Amal Sen.	" "
Bhupesh Chandra Dutta.	" "
Sm. Santi Neogi.	" "
Abanishwar Misra.	" "
Baidya Nath Bhattacharya.	" "
Kamalesh Banerjee.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.
Sushanta Sen.	" "
Sagarmoy Ghose.	" "
Md. Ismail.	" "
M. Roy Chowdhury.	" "
Pulin Bihari Mukherjee.	" "
Saroj Kumar Acharjee.	" "
Jibendra Kumar Roy.	" "
Vaskar Mukhopadhyay.	" "
Suhrid Biswas (Howrah).	" "
Sujan Sarker (Howrah).	" "
Asoke Kumar Sarker.	" "
Sachin Chowdhury.	" "
Aswini Kumar Gupta.	" "
Arunangsu De.	" "
Harasundar Chakraborty.	" "
Bhabesh Chakraborty (Dacca).	" "
Ajit Kumar Som (Dacca).	" "
Santosh Kumar Das.	" "
Sudhendra Kumar Das.	" "
Debiprasanna Das Gupta.	" "
Amiya Bhushan Mukherjee.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Dinendra Nath Das.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.
Santosh Kumar Biswas.	" "
Syamsebak Ram Brahma.	" "
Dwijendra Nath Chatterjee.	" "
Sarat Kumar Chatterjee.	" "
Harananda Karmakar.	" "
Suresh Chandra Sen.	" "
Jatindra Chakraborty.	" "
Chittaranjan Sen Gupta.	" "
Jitendra Chandra Chakraborty.	" "
Bibhuti Majumder.	" "
Sachindra Bhushan Dutt	Arrested and Convicted no rent Campaign, Arambagh 1932
Arabinda Roy.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.
L. M. Kaul.	" "
Probodh Chowdhury.	" "
Bimal Sen.	" "
Peary Mohan Chatterjee.	" "
Bimal Bose.	" "
Sakti Ranjan Bose.	" "
Kshemendra Mohan Sen.	" "
Mrinal Roy (Sylhet).	" "
Badal Ganguly.	Arrested and detained C.D. Movement, 1932.
Kishorilal Dutta.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932. and Delhi unlawful Congress, 1932.
Prosun Ghose.	Assaulted and injured in unlawful Delhi Congress, 1932.
Sukhendu Mitra.	" "
Indra Nath Ghose.	" "
Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Nirod Kumar Roy.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement 1932.
Dwijendra Nath Banerjee.	„ „
Nirode Bhattacharyya.	„ „
Kshirode Bhattacharyya.	„ „
Jagabandhu Sen.	„ „
Dinobondhu Mitra.	„ „
Nikhil Mitra.	„ „
Debabrata Chatterjee.	„ „
Chinta Haran Sarkel.	„ „
Manoranjan Paul.	„ „
Sushil Sen.	„ „
Narendra Nath Das.	„ „
Tarapada Chatterjee.	„ „
Sachindra Nath Chowdhury.	„ „
Induprosad Sen.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.
Pasupati Chatterjee.	„ „
Gurudas Banerjee.	„ „
Nabakumar Chatterjee.	Assaulted for picketing fo- reign cloth shops, Barabazar, 1932.
Raujita Chakraborty.	„ „
Madan Gopal Dhar.	Seriously assaulted while dis- tributing leaflets C.D. Move- ment, 1932.
Rajkumar Sarker.	Arrested and Assaulted for picketing foreign cloth shop, Barabazar, 1932.
Sudhamadhab Sen.	„ „
Ramesh Chandra Bhadra.	„ „
Sibasambhu Kar.	„ „
Adityadev Bhattacharyya.	„ „
Kartik Charan Das.	„ „
Nirmal Kumar Banerjee.	„ „
Chintamoni Adhya.	„ „

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>	
S. Sarker.	Arrested in connection with C.D. Movement, 1932.	
Madan Mohan Malakar.	"	"
Sailendra Nath Bhattacharyya.	"	"
Bankim Halder.	"	"
Harendra Kumar Chatterjee.	"	"
Subodh Kumar Mondal.	"	"
Sachindra Chakraborty.	"	"
Abanindra Roy.	"	"
Sm. Maya Ghose.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.	
Sm. Snehalata Dutt.	"	"
Sm. Dipti Ghose.	"	"
Sm. Bina Dey.	"	"
Sm. Nanibala Pal.	"	"
Sm. Kamalrani Sircar	"	"
Bejoy Gopal Chatterjee.	"	"
Hrishikesh Chanda.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.	
Gopendra Nandan Choudhury.	"	"
Sukumar Roy.	"	"
Bejoy Kumar Hore.	"	"
Dayal Prasanna Kumar (Hooghly).	"	"
Birendra Nath Bhattacharyya. (Burdwan)	"	"
Gurudas Banerjee (Burdwan).	"	"
Panchanon Seal (Burdwan).	"	"
Santosh Kumar Khan (Burdwan).	"	"
Jatindra Majumder (Bogra).	"	"

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details:</i>
Krishna Kumar Sarker (Bogra).	Arrested and convicted in C.D. Movement 1932.
Rajkumar Sarker (Mymen- singh).	" "
Sukhada Ranjan Roy (Mymensingh).	" "
Jyotirmoy Majumder (Mymensingh).	" "
Narendra Nath Chakra- borty.	" "
Nripen choudhury.	" "
Sudhir Bhattacharyya (Mymensingh).	Severely assaulted by police in connection with C.D. Move- ment, 1932.
Santisaran Roy (Khulna).	Arrested and convicted in C.D. Movement, 1932.
Pasupati Chatterjee (Khulna).	" "
Narayan Chandra Lahiri.	" "
Mohit Chatterjee (Nadia).	" "
Smarajit Banerjee (Nadia).	" "
Adhir Sen (Jessore).	Arrested in connection with C.D. Movement, 1932.
Jogesh Roy (Jessore).	" "
Ananta Mitra (Jessore).	" "
Sudhansu Gore (Jessore).	" "
Jagannath Saha.	" "
Jamini Sen (Noakhali).	Arrested and detained in con- nection with C.D. Movement, 1932.
Snehamoy Dutt (Noakhali).	" "
Nirmal Dutt (Noakhali).	" "
Sachin Baruah (Noakhali).	Arrested and detained in connection with C.D. move- ment, 1932.
Benolyal Bhup.	" "
Jagadish Banerjee (Noakhali).	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Dwijendra Bijoy Roy (Tipperah).	Arrested and detained in connection with C.D. movement, 1932.
Kasiswar Das Gupta (Tipperah).	" "
Prabodh Majumder (Tipperah).	" "
Dasarathi Mukherjee (Tipperah).	" "
Fani Mazumder (Tipperah).	" "
Ramesh Chandra Ghose (Tipperah).	Arrested in connection with C.D. movement, 1932.
Haripada Bhattacharyya (Tipperah).	" "
Samarendra Roy (Tipperah).	" "
Ncpal Chandra Dutt (Tipperah).	Arrested and convicted in connection with C.D. movement, 1932.
Mrinal Chandra Dutt (Tipperah)	" "
Brindabon Bihari Bose (Howrah).	" "
Sailen Mitra (Howrah).	" "
Sukumar Das (Howrah).	" "
Digendra Nath Acharyya (Sylhet).	Suspended by College authorities for participation in C.D. movement, 1932.
Hemanga Kumar Biswas (Sylhet).	" "
Anulya Ghose (Sylhet).	" "
Sankar Roy (Sylhet).	" "
Chanchal Sarma (Sylhet).	Fined by College authorities for participation in C. D. movement, 1932.
Birendra Chandra Ganguli.	Convicted C.D.M. President Dacca D.S.A. 1932.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Sarala Bala Devi.	C.D.M. 1932. Convicted.
Debabrata Mallik.	" "
Radharainan Chatterjee.	Secy. Khulna D.S.A. C.D.M. 1932 Convicted.
Paresh Chakraborty	C.D.M. North Calcutta 1932 convicted.
Rabin Saha.	" "
Sisir Chakraborty.	" "
Jahnabi Mukherjee.	" "
Dhirendra Das.	C.D.M. Dacca—1932, Con- victed.
Protap Mukherjee	C.D.M. Calentta—1932, Con- victed.
Susil Mukherjee.	" "
Dhirendra Biswas.	" "
Jiten Biswas.	" "
Mohit Chakraborty	" "
Susil Jha.	" "
Anil Bose.	" "
Sankar Ghose.	" "
Protap Chandra Gupta.	" "
Santosh K. Gupta.	" "
Kshitindra Nath Ghosh.	" "
Sudhin Datta.	" "
Ranjit Das.	" "
Sailesh Chodhury.	" "
Sudhindra Ghose.	" "
Sudhindra Das.	" "
Guruprosad Roy.	" "
Debaprosanna Sen.	" "
Phani Bhusan Mitra.	" "
Sibnath Mukherjee.	" "
Utfulla Roy.	" "
Biren Chakraborty.	" "
Rebati Dutta.	" "
Nripen Ghose.	" "
Upendra N. Das.	" "
Balai Ghose.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>	
Thakurdas Sen.	C.D.M.	Calcutta—1932 Convicted.
Jadugopal De.	"	"
Kunjalal Bose.	"	"
Jatindra Nath Sarkar.	"	"
Anil Kumar Bose.	"	"
Mahadeb Sarker (Nadia).	"	"
Nalini Das Gupta (Barisal).	"	"
Phanindra Madhab Chaki.	"	"
Jagaddhatri Banerjee.	"	"
Sachin Banerjee.	"	"
Hemanta De (Howrah).	"	"
Hemanta Bal.	"	"
Ranada Majumder.	"	"
Purnendu Sen.	"	"
Dwijendra Nath Chatterjee.	"	"
Jatindra Nath Sen Gupta.	"	"
Rabin Sarkar.	Arrested and convicted C.D. movement, 1932.	
Gopal Ch. Banerjee.	"	"
Swarna Kamal Bhattacharjee.	"	"
Haridas Halder.	"	"
Shekh Sarder Md.	"	"
Sk. Suleman.	"	"
Ajoy Sen.	"	"
Anil Dutta.	"	"
Nirode Datta.	"	"
Naresh Roy.	"	"
Santosh Banerjee.	"	"
Nakuleswar Banerjee.	"	"
Sachindra Basak.	"	"
Sunillal Ganguli.	"	"
Jagannath Das.	"	"

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>	
Samarendra Pal.	Arrested and convicted C.D. movement, 1932.	
Sudhangshu Roy.	"	"
Ajit K. Sen Gupta.	"	"
Sisir Chatterjee.	"	"
Sarat Chandra Ghose.	"	"
Tarapada Gupta.	"	"
Purna Chandra Ghose.	"	"
Bidhu Mohan Das Burma.	"	"
Harinath Majumder.	"	"
Butta Krishna De.	"	"
Pulin Gangulee.	"	"
Anil Bose.	"	"
Nritya Gopal Ghose.	"	"
Haraprosad Karmaker.	"	"
Jitendra N. Das Gupta.	"	"
Phani Bhushan Chakraborty.	"	"
Arabinda Roy.	"	"
Jatindra Chandra Chakraborty.	Arrested and convicted C.D. movement 1932.	
Santi Nath Banerjee.	"	"
Bibhuti Mukherjee.	"	"
Probodh K. Chakraborty.	"	"
Bhabendra N. Halder.	"	"
Kshudiram Saha.	"	"
Basanta K. Saha.	"	"
Anil K. Sarker.	"	"
Naresh Bhattacheryya.	"	"
Dwijen Banerjee.	"	"
Debendra Chatterjee.	Calcutta C.D.M. 1932. Con- victed.	
Sanat K. Bose.	"	"
Tulshi Charan Das.	"	"
Chintaharan Sarker.	"	"
Ramesh Ch. Bhadra.	"	"
Nani Gopal Maitra.	Rajshahi C.D.M. 1932. Con- victed.	

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>		
Madan M. Dhar.	Calcutta	C.D.M.	1932. Convicted.
Raj Kumar Sarker.	"	"	
Kshitish Ch. Pal.	"	"	
Rashbelhari De.	"	"	
Sibsankar De.	"	"	
Kanaidas Biswas.	"	"	
Ranjit Chatterjee.	"	"	
Baukim Halder.	"	"	
Jyotirmoy Ghose.	"	"	
Bimal Brahma.	"	"	
Nagendra N. Roy.	"	"	
Jiban Ratan Roy	"	"	
Chowdhury.	"	"	
Sitaram Mitra	"	"	
Ashutosh Malakar	"	"	
Birendra K. Datta Choudhury.	"	"	
Jatindra N. Ghose.	"	"	
Ballabhdas Acharya.	"	"	
Birendra Choudhury.	Arrested Calcutta	Convicted 1932.	C.D.M.
Hrishikesh Choudhury.	"	"	
Sukumar De.	"	"	
Sourin Ghose.	"	"	
Keshab Singh.	"	"	
Suniti Datta.	"	"	
Sarada Das.	"	"	
Haridas Mitra.	"	"	
Aminul Islam Choudhury.	"	"	
Brojen Sarker.	"	"	
Kumud B. Guha Thakurta.	"	"	
Bholanath Bose.	"	"	
Sarbeswar Banerjee.	"	"	
Lalit M. Roy Choudhury.	"	"	
Jagadish Bhattacherjee.	"	"	
Rebati Mohan Saha.	"	"	

Name.	Details.	
Suresh Ch. Ghose.	Arrested Calcutta	Convicted C.D.M. 1932.
Ashit K. Halder.	"	"
Pasupati Halder.	"	"
Jatindra Nath Mukherjee.	"	"
Sukhabindu Sen Gupta.	"	"
Nirmal Chandra Roy.	"	"
Krishna Chandra Neogy.	"	"
Gouri Devi.	"	"
Malini Devi.	"	"
Rama Devi.	"	"
Purna Choudhury.	"	"
Rabi Dutt.	"	"
Atul Ch. Roy.	Arrested and convicted C.D. movement, 1932.	
Anil Chandra Roy.	"	"
Santi Bhattacharya	"	"
Nageen Bhattacharya.	"	"
Sudhir Pal.	Later Detained under B.C.I. A.	
Abdus Sattar	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.	
Sachindra Blusan Dutt.	"	"
Kanailal Chatterjee.	"	"
Biren Ghose.	"	"
Debatosh Das Gupta.	"	"
Atul Bose.	"	"
Prabhat Bose.	"	"
Sudhir Sanyal.	"	"
Arabinda Ghose.	"	"
Biresh Chakraborty (Rajsahi).	"	"
Harendra Dutta Gupta.	C. D. M. 1932 convicted	
Manindra Mohan Sen (Dacca).	Arrested and detained 1932.	
Nanigopal Maitra (Rajsahi).	Sentenced to 18 months R.I. for disobeying police orders.	
Satya Sen.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Moment 1932.	

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Dhiren Mitra.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Moment 1932.
Sachin Banerjee.	" "
Sailesh Paul.	" "
Hemendra Nath Roy.	" "
Mangobinda Sarker.	" "
Anil Kundu.	" "
Mahatapchand Das.	" "
Satya Charan Banerjee	" "
Ajit Mukherjee (Bangabasi).	Arrested and convicted C.D. M. 1932.
Biswa Bose.	" "
Gouranga Chatterjee	" "
Mahendra Banerji.	" "
Niranjan Ghosh.	" "
Prafulla Roy.	" "
Benoy Choudhury.	Arrested and detained C.D. Movement, 1932.
Juanranjan Das Gupta (City).	" "
Jajneswar Misra.	" "
Somen Roy.	" "
Adhir Mukherjee.	" "
Bimal Choudhury (Ripon).	" "
Adyanath Banerjee.	" "
Kapil K Gupta.	" "
Mahendra Banerjee	" "
Brindaban Mukherjee.	" "
Profulla Gupta.	" "
Niranjan Guha.	" "
Atul Chakraborty.	" "
Chandi Charan Banerjee.	" "
Nirmal Ch. Singhi.	" "
Jnaneswar Misra.	" "
Amar Sanyal.	" "
Jnan Sen Gupta (Murshidabad).	" "
Jaharlal Baxi.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Shibendra Narayan Roy.	Arrested and detained C.D. Movement 1932.
Atul Sen (N. Calcutta).	" "
Adyanath Bhattacharyya.	" "
Ajoy Sen.	" "
Paresh Roy.	Arrested and detained unlawful Delhi Congress 1932.
Md. Motabbar.	" "
Devi Kar.	" "
Dindayal Bose.	" "
Sukumar Roy.	" "
Atul Sen.	" "
Raghabendra Rao (Santiniketan).	" "
Prabodh Ghose.	" "
Jagannath Saha.	" "
Manoranjan Gauguly.	" "
Sivaprasad Das Gupta.	Convicted C D Movement, 1932.
Fazlur Rahaman.	" "
Mrinal Roy (Sylhet).	Arrested and detained, unlawful Delhi Congress 1932
Kalidas Dutta.	Arrested and convicted, C D. Movement, 1932.
Sital Chandra Maitra.	" "
Manoj Mohan Goon.	" "
Narayan Mukherjee.	" "
Balarani Roy.	" "
Hemendra Gupta.	" "
Tarun Majumder.	Arrested for participation in C.D. Movement, 1932.
Sachin Sarker.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.
Bhupen Banerjee.	" "
Mohit Chakraborty.	" "
Tribikrami Pathak.	" "
Manindra Mondal (Howrah).	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Sarbananda Bose.	Arrested for participation in C.D. Movement, 1932.
Santosh Sen (Howrah).	" "
Pramatha Mukherjee.	" "
Kanan Chakraborty.	" "
Surendra M. Das Gupta (Rajshahi).	Arrested under B.C.L.A. and detained and convicted, C.D. Movement, 1932.
Subrata Choudhury.	" "
Sachindra Nath Das Gupta.	" "
Adyanath Banerjee.	" "
Upendra Nath Das.	" "
Narayan Ch. Gupta (Dacca-Bajrayogini).	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1932.
Mantosh Chakraborty (Dacca-Vikrampur).	" "
Umesh Chandra Chakraborty.	Arrested for participation in C.D. movement, 1932.
Mahesh Singhi.	" "
Tushar Chatterjee.	" "
Satyendra Narayan Majumder.	Arrested and detained under B.C.L.A., 1933.
Prafulla Kumar Sen.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1933.
Pran Krishna Mondal.	" "
Kshiti Bhusan Dutta.	Arrested for participation in C.D. Movement, 1933.
Suresh Ch. Sen Gupta.	" "
Kalipada Bagchi.	" "
Sushil K. Mitra.	" "
Surath K. Dutta.	" "
Upendra Nath Das.	" "
Sm. Malina Das Gupta.	" "
Sudhindra Narayan Neogi.	" "
Sanat Kumar Sarker.	" "
Brojen Sarker.	" "
Adyanath Bhattacharyya.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Sushil Kumar Mitra.	Arrested for participation in C.D. Movement, 1933.
Ramlal Kundu.	" "
Benoy Kumar Sarker.	Arrested and convicted C.D. Movement, 1933.
Sasthi Charan Ganguly (Howrah).	" "
Prabodh Bose (Howrah).	" "
Dhiren Bose (Howrah).	" "
Bankim Ghose (Howrah).	" "
Anath Bandhu Bhattacharyya.	" "
Pratul Ch. Choudhury.	" "
Amarendra Nath Roy.	Arrested and detained under Bengal Public Safety Act. in connection with unlawful session of Congress, Calcutta, 1933.
Sailendra Nath Mitra.	" "
Aswini Kumar Gupta.	" "
Arunangshu De.	" "
Ajit Kumar Dutta.	" "
Harasundar Chakraborty.	" "
Jiten Sen.	" "
Satya Sen.	" "
Niranjan Sen Gupta.	Detained under B. C. L. A. and Convicted, Mechua bazar Bomb Case.
Birendra Chandra Baruah.	Severely assaulted C.D.M. 1932.
Jitendra Nath Ghose.	Convicted C.D.M. 1932.
Prasun Chandra Ghose.	" "
Prabodh Chakraborty.	" "
Sudhir Ghose (B.P.S.A.).	Arrested Detained B.C.L.A.
Manmatha Chakraborty.	Arrested C.D.M. 1932.
Sanat Kumar Bose.	" "
Tulsi Charan Das.	" "
Peary Mohan Chatterjee.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Bimal Bose.	Arrested C. D. M. 1932.
Chintamoni Das.	" "
Narendra Nath Das.	Convicted C.D.M. 1932.
Dinesh Chandra Ganguly.	" "
Mrs. Sayeda Khatun.	" "
Miss Tarulata Mitra.	" "
Sibananda Gupta.	" "
Sudhir Ghose (B.P S.A.).	" "
Atul Chakraborty (Bhanubil Sylhet).	" "
Benoylal Bhup (Noakhali)	" "
Jagannath Majumder (Nadia).	Convicted C.D.M. 1932.
Dibyendu Sen Gupta.	" "
Ranjit Banerjee (Vice-President, A.B.S.A ).	" "
Amarendra Kumar Sanyal.	" "
Sainarendra Nath Basu Thakur.	" "
Purnendu Chakraborty.	" "
Suren Lahiri.	" "
Jibendra Narayan Roy.	" "
Shibnath Mukherjee.	" "
Satya Ranjan Banerjee.	" "
Atul K. Sen (North Calcutta).	" "
Panchu Gopal Bhadury.	" "
Tridib Chaudhury.	Arrested and Detained B.C. L.A.
Makhan Pal.	" "
Chiranjit Lal Shraff.	" "
Deben Ghose.	C. D. M. 1930-33.
Basudeb Sinha.	" "
Nilendu Majumder.	" "
Aditi Nandy.	" "
Chitta Ranjan Das.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Lal Mohan Bhownik.	Associated with all activites including C. D. Movement. 1930-33.
Girija Mookherjee (Act President A.B.S.A.).	" "
Rabindra Lal Sinha.	" "
Nilkrishna Chaudhury.	" "
Benoyendra Nath Banerjee.	" "
Biren Roy.	" "
Sushil Sen	" "
Nitish Roy.	" "
Amarendrajit Roy.	" "
Amulya Neogi.	" "
Ashokankur Sen.	" "
Jehangir Kabir.	" "
Indra Datta Sen.	" "
Pulin Bihari Sen.	" "
Satyabrata Sen.	" "
Manan Kumar Mukherjee (Joypurhat).	" "
Kalipada Ghose.	" "
Bimal Banerjee	" "
Debaprosad Bose.	" "
Birendra Chandra Bose.	" "
Atul Kumar.	" "
Subodh Misra.	" "
Samarendra Nath Roy.	" "
Kuñudesh Sen.	" "
Kamal Choudhury.	" "
Krishnajiban Roy.	" "
Probodh Ghosh.	" "
Hiren Bhattacharjee.	" "
Paresh Chakraborty.	" "
Subodh Mitra.	" "
Subinoy Bhattacharyya.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Bhakta Kumar Ghosh (Jalpaiguri).	Associated with all activites including C. D. Movement. 1930-33.
Sachin Sarker (Jalpaiguri).	" "
Satyen Chatterjee (Cooch Behar).	" "
Birendra Mohan Bose (Jalpaiguri).	" "
Naresh Ch. Chakraborty (Jalpaiguri).	" "
Sukumar Dutta.	" "
Narayan Banerjee.	" "
Prafulla K. Guha.	" "
A. M. A. Malek.	" "
Nripen Choudhury.	" "
Mammatha Bhattacharyya.	" "
Sambhu Nath Mukherjee.	" "
Brahmaprasad Mukherjee.	" "
Biswanath Bose.	" "
Sushil Sen.	" "
Rabi Roy Choudhury.	" "
Anil Guha.	" "
Bibhuti Ghose.	" "
Jahanara Begum.	" "
Kalyani Dutt.	" "
Surama Mitra.	" "
Ila Sen Gupta.	" "
Bina Das.	" "
Renuka Sen Gupta.	" "
Suhrid Ghosh.	" "
Pulin Ghoshal.	" "
Bidhu Bhusan Kali.	" "
Manindra Lal Saha.	" "
Niren Ray.	" "
Jatindra Majumdar.	" "
Ram Kamal Dass.	" "

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Details.</i>	
Prabodh Choudhury.	Associated with all activities including C. D. Movement 1930-33.	
Ramesh Chandra Ghose	"	"
Radha Gobinda Sen.	"	"
Prabodh Banerjee.	"	"
Jiten Mookherjee.	"	"
Ashalata Bose.	"	"
Jyotsna Lekha Bose.	"	"
Renu Dutta Majumder.	"	"
Asoka Ray.	"	"
Sudhir Neogi.	"	"
Jnan Bakshi.	"	"
Nripendra Chakraborty (Dacca)	"	"
Chunilal Bose	"	"
Ratan Kumar Hazra	"	"
Ramkrishna Ghose	"	"
Satish Chandra Roy.	"	"
Abdulla Rasul	C. D. M. 1932	
Janaki Bose.	"	"
Bimal Roy.	"	"
Kanai Sarker.	"	"
Sacchidananda Sen Gupta.	"	"
Kedar Nath Mukherjee.	"	"
Bibhuti Bhushan Chakraborty.	"	"
Biresh Majumdar.	"	"
Kumarendra Bose.	"	"
Rebati Kanta Roy.	"	"
Kalipada Ghosh.	Expelled from Scottish Churches College, 1928.	

*Post Script.* Some names left out were added after the printing was completed. The chronological sequence could not therefore be maintained. The list is based on incomplete records and there are certainly many omissions and inaccuracies.

### NOTE ON CHATRI SANGHA

Some girl students of Calcutta University attended the first All-Bengal Students Conference (September 1928). Soon after they organised a meeting of the girl students at the Ashutosh Hall of Calcutta University. It appears from our records that Prof. Radhakrishnan presided over this meeting where an association of girl students named Chatri Sangha was formed. The president of the association was Miss Surama Mitra and Secretary, Miss. Kalyani Das. Others who took prominent part were Miss Bina Das, Miss Ila Sen Gupta, and Miss. Renuka Sen Gupta. The Sangha worked amongst the girl students and among the notable achievements of the Sangha were a study circle, a Home Industries Training Centre and a Co-operative Store. The Chatri Sangha always worked in close collaboration with the A.B.S.A and ultimately its separate existence ceased. The secretary of the Chatri Sangha, Miss Kalyani Das, was a member of the Working Committee of the A.B.S.A. and its War Council.

## CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

Page 6 Line 35 "P. C. Ray" in place of "P. C. Roy".

Page 7 Line 18 "P. C. Ray" in place of "P. C. Roy"

Page 19, Line 36 Read "pastures" in place of "patures".

Page 21, Line 11, Read "number" in place of "member".

Page 26: Sj. Sachindra Nath Mitra was also one of the Sectional Secretaries of the Conference.

Page 39: Read "T. T. Williams" in place of "T. T. Williums."

Page 42, Line 17, Read "J. R. Barrow" in place of "J. R. Borrow "

Page 53: Read "Book Two" instead of "Part Two."

Page 75, Line 7, The address of J. K. Banerjee was not available in time.

Page 111, Line 17, "Is it" in place of "It is".

N.B. The mistakes in the reports of A.B.S.A have been left mostly uncorrected.

THE ROLE OF THE STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING  
AND TECHNOLOGY, BENGAL, KNOWN AS ENGINEERING COLLEGE,  
JADAVPUR.

A very strong organisation was built up by and amongst the students of the College of Engineering and Technology, Bengal, as soon as Civil Disobedience movement was resumed early in 1932. I took the initiative on behalf of the A.B.S.A.

A War Council of the College was formed which took complete charge of the movement. A programme for courting arrest offering *satyagraha* in violation of Government orders in batches of 20 *satyagrahis* each time was chalked out.

Sri Kedar Nath Mukherjee, a student of Chemical Engineering Course, volunteered to act as the first dictator of the Council and offered *satyagraha* with 19 other students of the College. All of them were arrested. Most of the meritorious students namely Bibhuti Chakraborty, Sachchidananda Sen, Rebati Kanta Roy and others came forward of their own accord to join the movement and accept dictatorship of the Council one after another.

The response from the students was so spontaneous that the programme continued without any break for 3 months. The funds necessary for the purpose were contributed by the students of the College and no help was asked for either from the A.B.S.A. or the Congress. Whenever there was shortage of funds, an assembly of students was arranged in the campus at a moments notice and funds were raised by cap collection.

It may be mentioned here that each *satyagrahi* was supplied with a *Khaddar Dhoti* and *Punjabi* and also a pair of sandals by the War Council.

Out of about 650 students of the College, about 350 students courted arrest and were punished with different terms of imprisonment.

On the 16th April 1932, after the dissolution of the War Council, I went to Arambagh and joined the No-tax campaign there where a few batches of *satyagrahis* had already been sent before to join the campaign. I was arrested there for leading a big procession to Goughat Police Station.\*

SACHINDRA BHUSAN DUTT













